

THE UMBRIAN CITIES OF ITALY



J·W & A·M·CRUICKSHANK

THE
UMBRIAN CITIES OF ITALY

TWO VOLUMES IN ONE

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THE UMBRIAN CITIES OF ITALY

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SIGNORELLI AND FRA ANGELICO

The UMBRIAN CITIES OF ITALY

By
J. W. and A. M. Cruickshank

TWO VOLUMES IN ONE

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Preface

THE compilers of the following pages deeply regret that Mr. Grant Allen, who planned this series of travel books, should not have lived to develop his ideas under his own hand. They had the privilege of seeing him at work upon his books on Venice, and had some opportunity of recognizing the brilliant powers of observation, and the masterly skill in clear and simple exposition which he brought to bear upon the subject. Although they have been able only very imperfectly to appreciate and follow his example, they think it may be for the convenience of readers to summarize the aims originally in view.

The book is not intended to take the place of guide-books such as those of Baedeker or Murray. It does not give information about the details of travel, nor does it notice

all monuments irrespective of their merit or interest. In dealing with collections, the object has not been to furnish a catalogue, but to indicate the matters of essential interest, and, so far as is possible, to suggest the reason for this interest. An attempt has been made to give just enough historical tradition to enable the traveller to create for himself an atmosphere suitable to the objects which he is engaged in studying, and sufficiently detailed to suggest the place which they take in the general development of human interests.

Two points of view present themselves in regard to all that we see — the manner of the doing of the thing, and the object with which it has been done. The one is the point of view of the artist; the other that of the student of human nature. An endeavour has been made to appreciate the monuments from both points of view.

It has been thought to be most courteous to those who use this book to express opinions quite frankly; but no authority is claimed, and particularly where the sphere of the experts may have been trespassed on, nothing

more is intended than a suggestion for the traveller, to be used as a starting-point for his own observations.

The compilers are conscious that errors and misconceptions may be found, and they will value the corrections which fellow-students and travellers may be able to send them, in the care of the publisher. They desire also to express their acknowledgment of the assistance they have received from Miss Katharine Wilson, who accompanied them upon the journey. In the work of observation as well as of revision, they are greatly indebted to her helpful insight.

A Brief History of Umbria

THE Umbrians have been generally regarded as among the most ancient of the races in Italy, and at one time their territory was widely extended.

Successive waves of conquest gradually forced the Umbrians from the valley of the Po and from the coasts of the Adriatic, so that for several centuries before our era they were confined to the mountain ranges and to the valleys of the Apennines in Central Italy.

The first conquerors that we know of as limiting the Umbrian boundaries were of Etruscan race. This people settled throughout a large part of Central Italy, from Lombardy in the north to Campania in the south. Such ancient centres of life as Orvieto and Perugia are full of evidence of Etruscan life,

and their remains are widely spread throughout Umbria.

The close connection between the two peoples is of importance in the history of Central Italy, for the Etruscans were the most advanced, and the most highly civilized of all the contending races in the country.

The next limitation of Umbria was the result of the Celtic invasion of Italy in the fourth century B. c. The Celts advanced along the Adriatic coast from the north, while tribes of Italian origin coming from the south established themselves on the same coast, and thus the Umbrians were confined to the inland and mountainous parts of the country. They ceased to be a powerful people, and offered but a feeble defence against invasion.

In 396 B. c., the capture of the Etruscan city of Veii, some eleven miles from Rome, opened the way for the advance of the Republic into Central Italy, and within the next hundred years the power of Rome was established throughout Umbria. In 309 B. c., the Etruscans and their allies were defeated at the Vadimonian Lake, near the modern

town of Orte; and in 296 B. c., a still more crushing defeat was inflicted on the Etruscans, Celts, Samnites, and Umbrians at Sentinum, near the modern Sassoferrato.

One of the most important results of the Roman conquest was the making of the Flaminian Way in the year 220 B. c. This road stretched from Rome to Rimini, passing Narni, Nocera, Cagli, the Furlo Pass, Fossombrone, and Fano; there was also a branch leading to Ancona. By this means the upland valleys of the Apennines were connected on the one hand with the capital, and on the other with the seaports of the Adriatic. The busy traffic of this great highway led to the development of many towns on its route, and to the prosperity of places such as Spoleto, Trevi, Foligno, and Spello.

The Roman province of Umbria included Central Italy east of the Tiber, with a coast line on the Adriatic extending roughly from Rimini to Ancona; to the north it included the upper valley of the Arno known as the Casentino, and to the south the river Nar divided it from the Sabine country.

During the time of the Social War, B. C. 90, Umbria and Etruria did not join in the rising of the Italian allies against Rome, and the people of both nations received the Roman franchise.

In the long warfare between the imperial power of Rome and the barbarians during the fifth and sixth centuries of our era, the province of Umbria shared the fate of the rest of Italy. The siege of Perugia, in which the town was attacked by the Gothic King Totila and defended by the Bishop S. Ercolano, and the great defeat of King Totila by Narses, the general of the Emperor Justinian, near Gualdo, are incidents which connect Umbria with the history of this great struggle. It was not until the Lombard conquest of Italy in 568 A. D. that the province had any individual importance. Under the new conquerors the country was divided into a number of dukedoms; one of the principal of these had its capital at Spoleto and included a large part of Umbria.

The Lombards were nearly always at feud with the Pope. They were far more barbarous enemies than the Goths, and as their

power grew the position of the Roman see became intolerable. In the middle of the eighth century the power of the Frankish rulers of German and Gaulish lands had become vested in the Arnulfings or Karlings, a family of great personal distinction and capacity. It was from Pippin, king of the Franks, that Pope Stephen begged for help against the Lombards. The king crossed the Alps and defeated the enemies of the Pope in 755, and it is said that the Frankish conqueror granted or confirmed to the Pope possession of large territory, mainly in Central Italy. When Pippin's son Charles completed the conquest of the Lombards in 774, the donation previously made is supposed to have been confirmed, and thus the Pope became possessor of a title which was never relinquished, although many generations passed away before it was effectually enforced.

The Frankish conquest of Northern and Central Italy involved a strengthening of barbarian influence. Margraves and counts formed the chiefs of a landed aristocracy founded on feudal ideals at variance with

those of the municipal society of Greece and Rome.

In the year 800 the Pope crowned Charles as emperor, and thus we find throughout mediæval Italian history a Teutonic emperor and a feudal aristocracy — set against a Pope and the dwellers in towns representing, for the most part, the traditions of Roman civilization.

From time to time these Teutonic emperors crossed the Alps and exercised a disturbing influence on Italian politics; nevertheless, the most permanent and persistent forces at work in moulding the life of Central Italy, consisted (1) in the influence of the Church, which claimed in many parts of the country paramount power; (2) in the power of the nobles, tending towards the tyranny of some great family; (3) in the power of the citizens organized under trade guilds.

The history of the Italian communes is really the story of the struggle between the Latin and Teutonic ideal. To a large extent this took the form of war between the nobles and the citizens, and it constituted the serious

element lying behind the faction fights of Guelphs and Ghibellines.

The power of the Pope grew very slowly, and it was only after the return from Avignon and the closing of the schism by the election of Martin V. in 1417 that the political influence of the Church became a constant and increasing element in Italian politics. The wars waged by Julius II. early in the sixteenth century, and the building of the great fortress in Perugia by Paul III. in 1540, mark the realization of the dreams of Pope Stephen when, eight hundred years before, he called the king of the Franks across the Alps.

By the side of the Italian communes and far from the court of Rome, there was growing up a third power of which little is heard in the din of mediæval conflict. This was the duchy of Savoy. In the middle of the eleventh century the power of this house was founded by the marriage of a Count of Maurienne who owned the western side of the Mont Cenis Pass, with a daughter of the Count of Turin who held the Castle of Susa on the Italian side. One family thus came

into possession of the highway over the mountains. From this beginning the house of Savoy grew in power and influence. In 1720 the chief of the house took the title of King of Sardinia. In March, 1860, there was added to this kingdom a large part of Central Italy. In 1861 the King of Sardinia was proclaimed King of Italy, and in 1870 Rome was made the capital of a united nation under the rule of the house which had been founded eight hundred years before.

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VOLUME I

PART I

Assisi

The Umbrian Cities of Italy

Volume I

PART I — ASSISI

CHAPTER I

ST. FRANCIS — THE DUOMO

THE town of Assisi stands on the slopes of Monte Subasio. Below it runs the mountain torrent of the Tescio, which after joining two other little streams flows into the Tiber. The broad valley drained by this river stretches in each direction as far as we can see. Upon the mountain slopes which run steeply down into the plain is a succession of towns; to the west, Perugia, to the southeast, Spello, Trevi, and Spoleto, all of them ancient centres of human life and human interests.

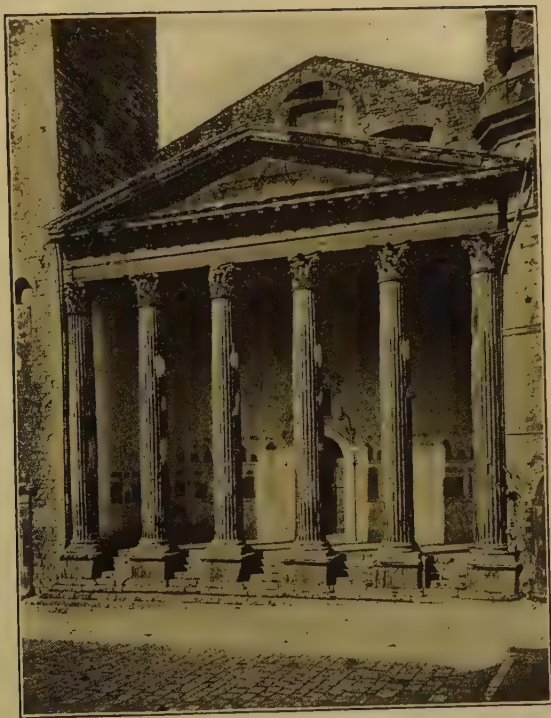
Assisi stands on the site of the Roman town of Assisium, and there are still remains

of imperial times to be found. The Forum, the Amphitheatre, and the portico of the Temple of Minerva carry us back nearly two thousand years.

The empire was succeeded by the Lombard kingdom, and during this period Assisi formed part of the duchy of Spoleto. The cathedral in Assisi forms an interesting record of the effect of the barbarian conquests of Italy. The façade is an example of the style of architecture used from the seventh century to the twelfth. It represents the period when the northern races were struggling, with only partial success, to absorb the traditions of classical art.

The more complete fusion of the various social forces in the country finds its expression in the Gothic church of San Francesco, the tomb of St. Francis.

In the possession of this long story of continuous life, and of these buildings which testify to it, Assisi does not differ from many other Italian towns, nor is there anything distinctive in its commercial, political, or intellectual condition. There is no absorbing interest such as we find in the political system



TEMPLE OF MINERVA

of the Venetian nobles, or of the princes of the house of Visconti; there is no record of a keen spirit of philosophical inquiry such as existed at Padua and Florence; nor is there any important local school of painters or sculptors.

What we do find is the fulfilment of the spiritual revival of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the life of St. Francis. It was here that he was born in 1182; at S. Damiano he received the call to the higher life; in the market-place he renounced not only the pomps and vanities of the world, but even the closest of family ties; in the Umbrian valleys he preached the gospel of love and of self-denial. On the side of Monte Subasio, high above the town, is the place whither he went to gain spiritual strength from austerities of more than usual severity. In the little cell under the dome of Sta. Maria degli Angeli he died, and in the crypt of San Francesco he was buried.

The new activity which had begun to work in the minds of men in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries found its artistic expression in Giotto and among his disciples —

just as its spiritual development is to be seen in St. Francis and among his disciples.

This close relationship between the spiritual life of the mendicants and the artistic life of the Giotteschi has produced in the church of San Francesco a monument, wonderful alike for its interpretation of the source of the power which St. Francis had over mankind, and for the beauty of its expression.

In an age of constant warfare and strife, and in times when the unscrupulous and the strong seemed to command the world, the life of St. Francis comes as an entirely new experience. He was a man with no advantage of birth, he had no intellectual training—he is not even said to have been eloquent, and yet he was able to quicken the conscience of the western world as none of the great ecclesiastics and doctors of the Middle Ages had been able to do.

We go to Assisi that we may the more fully understand and realize the influences of this man, whose life is witness to the power of a simple faith, and a love which knows no limitation.



CHURCH OF SANTA MARIA DEGLI ANGELI

We go to Assisi to study the rise and progress of Italian art, for we find in the single church of S. Francesco examples of the beginnings of native style, in which the native workman followed in the steps of Byzantine tradition. We find also how these beginnings develop into the two great Tuscan schools of Florence and Siena, and we can thus study all the important influences which lie at the foundation of Italian art.

It is quite possible to visit Assisi and to go round the churches of Sta. Maria degli Angeli and S. Francesco in a single day, and if no more time is available it is best spent in these places. For those who give plenty of time to Assisi and the neighbourhood, it is well to begin with the piazza which was once the forum of Roman times.

In it still stands the front of the ancient temple of Minerva, giving a remarkable sense of dignity and style to what would otherwise be no more than the market-place of an inconsiderable village. Underground in the same piazza there are fragments of the buildings of the Forum, and in the out-

skirts of the town there are remains of an amphitheatre.

The visitor should pass from these traces of Roman life to the example of Romanesque life which is found in the Duomo.

We next turn to those monuments which are connected with the religious revival of the thirteenth century and with the life of St. Francis.

There are many memorials of varying interest connected with him, and the traveller will do well to discriminate carefully.

St. Francis may be viewed as the simple-minded, sympathetic, self-denying soul, who drew all men to him by the sweetness and by the transparent sincerity of his character. He was the simple preacher trusting for his daily bread to the charity which the love of God inspired in the hearts of his hearers. He went forth owning nothing; he gloried in the meanness and hardness of his life; he died lying upon ashes. This is the life we can partly realize at the Porziuncola under the great dome of Sta. Maria degli Angeli and in the cells at Carceri.

But besides this St. Francis there is

another, the founder of a great order, recognized by the Church as one of its most powerful members. He is accepted by the great ones of the earth; he works miracles which gather to Rome the spiritual forces of mediævalism. Popes see visions concerning him, and they canonize his memory. To his brethren is revealed the throne in heaven on which he is to sit. The principles which guide his daily life are crystallized into the rule of a wide-spreading organization.

This is the St. Francis which we find at S. Francesco.

We could ill part with either of these records, for they set before us in a marvellous way the life of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Nevertheless we shall more truly comprehend them if we keep this twofold character in mind.

We see the simple disciple of poverty in his daily life at Sta. Maria degli Angeli and at Carceri. At S. Francesco we see how the mediæval papacy absorbed as much of the spirit of the mendicant as lay within its range of perception.

THE DUOMO

The cathedral of Assisi is dedicated in the name of S. Rufino, an Umbrian bishop martyred about the year 239. The bones of the martyr were carefully preserved by the faithful in an ancient pagan sarcophagus, and were not translated until the fifth century. They were then removed to the small church which stood upon the site of the present Duomo.

In 1028 Bishop Ugone made use of an outburst of religious fervour among the people to replace the old building by a new and much larger church.

Nothing of this construction can now be seen except the crypt, which has been lately excavated. It forms an interesting record of the architecture of the time. There are some traces of fresco paintings, and the columns have capitals of tenth and eleventh century workmanship.

During the excavations a wall was uncovered with a carved panel of very early date, probably of the eighth century. It represents a cross with two doves enclosed

in a triangle, having bunches of grapes and ivy leaves in the corners. The wall itself, it is supposed, forms part of the original church erected in the fifth century.

In the crypt there is also the fine sarcophagus in which the body of S. Rufino was preserved until the rebuilding of the church in the twelfth century. The relief upon the front represents Diana and Endymion.

Returning again to the piazza, we see in front of us the façade, which was begun in 1134 under the direction of Maestro Giovanni da Gubbio. The church had become the cathedral, and was dedicated in the names of S. Rufino and of Santa Maria. Nothing except the façade was completed at this time, and the rest of the church (partially restored during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) was finally transformed into a Renaissance building in 157, by Alessi, the Perugian architect. The massive Campanile was begun in the eleventh century, and was continued, but not entirely finished, in the next. Part of the upper construction is of modern date.

The façade is a good example of Romanesque building in the Lombard style.

The architectural features are not in themselves particularly striking, yet the effect of the façade and tower is venerable and picturesque. The impression of great antiquity which the building gives is perhaps due to the unusually dark colour of the stone, and the archaic look of the sculptures. The effect of the church on the whole is rugged and homely, and one can easily understand how it should have been regarded for many generations as the "Domum," the house of refuge and of consolation.

The principal features to be noticed are, the three round-headed doorways, the row of small columns with a richly carved cornice below, and the three beautiful circular windows.

The subject of the sculptures upon the façade is chiefly the virtue of the sacraments of the Church. This subject is illustrated not by a series of descriptive or historical figures, but by symbols.

The state of man without grace, and the power of the sacraments to save him from

sin and death, is shown by striking images drawn from the animal world.

In the lunette in the central door, enclosed in a circular aureole, is the figure of Christ, the Ruler of the world, seated upon a throne, with the sun and moon on either side. He holds the book of the law and points to His mother, as though indicating the way of salvation, by means of the incarnation. On the right stands the martyr Bishop Rufino. The three small heads between the principal figures are supposed to represent the three other martyr saints whose relics are preserved in the Duomo, namely, S. Cessidus, the son of Rufino, and the two deacons Marcellus and Exuperantius. These three were all put to death during the persecutions which were carried on in Umbria in the reign of Diocletian.

Turning now to the mouldings round this doorway, — the most important one is rounded and has figures in high relief. The lower part, on the jambs of the door, is covered with animals, tearing, rending, and devouring one another. These are types of man in his fallen and unregenerate

state, a prey to his passions. The same moulding carried round the arch over the door has eight groups of small figures, which cannot be easily distinguished. A crowned woman on a throne, on the left side, probably represents the Church. The baptism of a child and of an adult signify the means of grace.

The flat mouldings have designs of a conventionalized vine plant, with small figures of men gathering the fruit and birds eating the grapes. These designs represent allegorically the life of the Christian in the Church, nourished by its sacraments.

Such a theme is frequently illustrated upon the mouldings of Romanesque doorways. Attention should be given to the various details, and a comparison made between different examples.

The side doorways. — In the lunettes are two striking images of the mysteries of the Christian faith. Above the door to the right two peacocks drink from a large vase, and above the door to the left two lions in a similar fashion are placed on either side of a great vessel.

Such a design, in which animals stand upon either side of some sacred object, as, for instance, a tree or an altar, is a common means of expressing devotion or worship. It exists in the art of many ancient races.

The sculptures over the doorways at Assisi illustrate the efficacy of the sacraments of baptism and of the eucharist. The large vessel is a figure, not only of the font, but also of the chalice. The lion signifies the fortitude which the Christian derives from these sources of purification and life. The peacock, because of the supposed incorruptibility of its flesh, is an emblem of the gift of immortal life received through the Christian sacraments.

The lintels. — In the centre of each lintel is the Lamb, the “Agnus Dei,” supported on the right door by the four symbols of the Evangelists; on the left by two eagles with outspread wings. The eagle, on account of its soaring flight and its power of looking at the sun, was used as a figure of the soul in contemplation.

On the jambs of the doors and round the lunette are symbols representing the Christian

in the midst of temptations. The cross has the central position in the half circle. At the sides of the door are emblems of the baptized soul, the fish, the stag, and the dove, combined with symbolical figures of the devil represented as a dragon and as a two-headed monster.

The animals sculptured in the round and placed at the sides of the doorways as guardians are one of the characteristic features of Romanesque buildings.

Those at the side doors are much destroyed, and can no longer be recognized. Those at the central door are excellent examples of lions as they were commonly represented by the sculptors of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Such guardian animals, whether griffins or lions, signify the office of the Church in its twofold capacity of protecting the humble and punishing the proud. It will be noticed that, as a general rule, the animal on the left punishes while the one on the right protects. Here the lion on the left devours a man who is perhaps intended to represent a soldier, the usual emblem of heretical pride. The lion on the

right protects a sheep, which lies peacefully between the fore-feet of the guardian. The sheep is the type of the humble Christian.

The sculptured cornice, underneath the colonnade, has a number of fantastic-looking animals, frequently described as "grotesques."

When examined, however, they are found to be of the same character as the other parts of the decoration. They are illustrations of familiar legends, or symbols of some abstract quality.

Immediately above the central door, for instance, are two small winged dragons placed back to back, and hemmed in by two stags that attack them on either side. The stag was said to be the great enemy of dragons and serpents, killing them whenever it could. The stag or hart, on the authority of Scripture (Ps. xlii.), was an emblem of the Christian thirsting after righteousness. Hence an image of a stag destroying a serpent suggested to the mind the Christian turning against his vices and destroying them. (A fine illustration of the subject will be found on the church of S. Pietro, Spoleto.)

To the right of these stags, on the cornice, are several pairs of animals drinking from a vase. These figures repeat the allusion to the sacraments expressed in the lunettes above the side doors. The animals here, however, are dragons and other monsters, emblems not of the true believer, but of those who are living in mortal sin and yet dare to remain in the Church.

The round windows. — The symbols of the four Evangelists are placed round about the central window, and below are the figures of three men who appear to sustain the weight of the circle.

The window may be intended to stand for the globe of the world, and the three men perhaps indicate the three parts of the earth, namely, Europe, Asia, and Africa.

The round window to the left has a little figure of the Archangel Michael in the centre. On the outside of the circle, on the wall, are two statues probably representing St. Peter and St. Paul.

(A more detailed study of the figures upon the façade will be found in Canon Elisei's *Studio sulla Cathedrale*, Assisi, 1893.)



A FOUNTAIN IN ASSISI

Close to the entrance is the round font in which the citizens of Assisi for many generations have been baptized, including St. Francis, Sta. Chiara, and her sister Agnes. Here also, in 1195, the Emperor Frederick II. received baptism when three years of age. He was living at that time under the charge of his tutor, Conrad of Swabia, Duke of Spoleto.

In the nave, in front of the bishop's throne, is a triptych by Niccolo da Foligno (working between 1430 and 1502), a pupil of Benozzo Gozzoli. It represents the Virgin and Child with four saints. The first to the right is S. Rufino, the bishop, and beside him is the martyr Exuperantius. On the left stands S. Pietro Damiano, who wrote the life of S. Rufino. He holds a book, and his neighbour, the deacon Marcellus, presents an inkpot to the author, having in his other hand a scroll with the first words of the Gospel of John. This scroll is significant of one of the duties of the deacon's office as reader of the Scriptures. The figures of the saints are grave and dignified, and there are no trifling acces-

sories or studies of still life introduced to disturb the serious character of the picture. The predella has the story of the martyrdom of the patron saint in three scenes. In the first we see the holy man subjected to the flames, but remaining uninjured. He was then thrown into the river Chiagio and drowned. It is said that when the body was recovered a lily sprang from the mouth and described how the martyr had died. The third scene represents the translation of the body into the city.

The relics of the saint are preserved in a black marble urn made in 1850. The choir stalls, ornamented with intarsiatura, were executed in 1520 by Giovanni da S. Severino.

CHAPTER II

MONUMENTS CONNECTED WITH THE LIFE OF ST. FRANCIS

Chiesa Nuova

A SMALL street leading out of the southern corner of the Piazza Vittorio Emmanuele takes us to the Chiesa Nuova, a church raised on the site of the house which belonged to Pietro Bernardone, the father of St. Francis.

A portion of a wall, with an arch above a door, are shown as a part of the old dwelling-house. A niche in this wall is pointed out as the place where St. Francis was shut up by his father.

In the alley on the north side of the church is the little Cappella di S. Francesco, built on the site of a stable where St. Francis was born. The legend that his birth took place in a stable is probably due to the parallel

which was drawn between the life of the saint and that of Christ.

Sta. Maria degli Angeli

The church of Sta. Maria degli Angeli, which forms such an imposing feature in the vale of Spoleto, is only a few minutes' walk from the station at Assisi.

Under the great dome are two buildings of supreme interest in the history of St. Francis, viz., the chapel of the Porziuncola, or the "little portion," and the cell in which the saint died.

According to tradition the chapel of the Porziuncola was originally built by four pilgrims, so that they might place in it a relic of the tomb of the Virgin which had been given to them by St. Cyril of Jerusalem. This first chapel of the pilgrims is supposed to have been built in A. D. 352, and its name, St. Mary of the Angels, has been attributed to the picture which they caused to be painted in it — an Assumption of the Virgin surrounded by angels.

Another account is that the name arose

because the songs of angels were often heard in the place, and especially on the night of the birth of St. Francis, September 26, 1182.

In 516 St. Benedict found the first sanctuary abandoned, and he is said to have rebuilt it for some brethren of his order. According to some accounts it received the name of Porziuncola, or "little portion," as being so small and unimportant among the Benedictine foundations.

After the restoration of S. Damiano Francis began to work on the chapel of the Porziuncola, and when the brethren increased in number he begged the Abbot of Monte Subasio to let him have it, so that there might be a place in which the brethren could say the office.

In so far as such an one could be said to have a home, the neighbourhood of the Porziuncola was the home of Francis, and he always desired that this chapel should be a pattern in its poverty for all the other places of the brethren.

The earliest disciple that St. Francis had was Bernard of Quintavalle, and it is told in the Fioretti how their first act of com-

panionship, after hearing mass together, was to open the missal and take counsel from the passages they found.

Three times this was done, and their rule of life was founded on the three messages: "If thou wilt be perfect go and sell that thou hast and give to the poor;" "Take nothing for your journey, neither stave nor scrip, neither bread neither money;" and lastly, "If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow Me." On this "firm rock of the exceeding great humility and poverty of the Son of God" was built the fabric of the Franciscan order. The character of St. Francis was too simple, too direct, and too shrewd to allow him to bring this teaching into conformity with the ordinary methods of mankind. He accepted the sayings in their plain and literal meaning, and whatever stood in the way of their realization he put away from him. Property meant servitude to material things; it caused a diversion of energy from the true aim of life; it brought with it temptation to covetousness and avarice; it was a hindrance to that true

liberty of soul in which alone the spiritual life can thrive.

Learning was even more dangerous than riches. In getting knowledge mind and body were tempted beyond the way of humility; dependence on the understanding, even if it were of Scripture, would in time of trial lead only to coldness and emptiness. The body also was a source of temptation. Superfluity of food was a hindrance to body and soul; and, on the other hand, too much abstinence was a temptation into which St. Francis admitted he had himself fallen.

Patient and loving endurance of wrong, an obedience "wherein flesh and blood have naught of their own," poverty that leaves the soul a true spiritual freedom, and humility leading to the knowledge and understanding of God, such were the means by which St. Francis strove to imitate the life of Christ.

He never shrank from his fellow-men, he did not fear contact with the world, he only desired to strip life of all that obscures the real aim in living.

Many brethren joined St. Francis, al-

though few followed him. From the first difficulties arose: some found the rule too severe, and others who felt a true vocation could not reconcile the strongly developed personality of the religion of St. Francis with the claims of the hierarchy and the system of the Church. Yet he was always ready to be in subjection to the clergy. He refused to ask for a privilege to preach, he bade his followers wait in humility until they were called; and in regard to doctrine he was a faithful son of the Church.

But a man who would take no thought for the morrow, who would own neither breviary nor psalter, who rejected learning, and begged his daily bread, who refused to accept the rule of St. Benedict, or St. Augustine, or St. Bernard, and who would follow only the way that had been shown to him by the Lord, must have been a severe trial to the faith of politicians and churchmen like Innocent III. and the Cardinal Ugolino. The latter, who became Pope as Gregory IX., was deeply touched by the spirituality and simplicity of St. Francis; nevertheless he spared no pains to bring the brethren within

the influence and order of ecclesiastical authority.

The struggle was too much for St. Francis, and in 1220 he gave up the rule of the order to Pietro di Catana. In 1221 Pietro died, and was succeeded by Brother Elias. In this man was mingled a true love of St. Francis, with a worldly spirit altogether at variance with that of his master. Thus before the death of its founder the order had lost its unity of purpose.

The ecclesiastically-minded Cardinal and the worldly-minded Brother Elias have raised their monument to the founder in the church of S. Francesco. But if we would realize the life of the simple brother we must seek its memorials in the humble chapel of the Porziuncola, at S. Damiano, and at the Carceri.

It was in the chapel of the Porziuncola that the second order of the Franciscans originated in the dedication of Sta. Chiara. Having been touched by the preaching of Francis, she left her father's house, and in the Holy Week of 1212 she was received by him in the little chapel. Her hair was cut

off, and she gave herself as a servant of the poor.

Years afterwards, desiring to eat with Francis, Sta. Chiara met her spiritual father in front of the Porziuncola, and for the first beginning of refreshment, Francis spoke of God with such sweetness and so marvellously that they were wrapt in contemplation. A sign of the presence of the Spirit was given to the people of the country, who saw Sta. Maria degli Angeli, and the dwelling-place of the brethren and the wood about it, all in flames. The spot is marked by a pillar near the cell where St. Francis died.

Once again the story of Sta. Chiara is concerned with the Porziuncola. At the season of Christmas she was sick and not able to go to office in the church at S. Damiano, and by the will of Christ she was miraculously carried to the chapel of the brethren, where she was present at matins and received communion, and was borne back to her bed.

When the Abbot of Monte Subasio granted the chapel to Francis, he made it a condition that it should be the head place of the order,

and it was here that the general chapters were held.

On one famous occasion, probably in 1219, five thousand brethren were gathered, those of the different provinces each having their places. The writer of the Fioretti describes them as spending their time in reasoning of God, in prayer, and in works of charity. They said the office, they lamented their sins, they discoursed of the salvation of the soul. And all was done in such silence and with so much discretion that there was no noise. When the Cardinal Ugolino saw the gathering, he said, "Truly this is the camp and the army of the Cavaliers of God." St. Francis bade that none should take heed for food, and the people of the country brought all that they had need of. St. Dominic, who was there, knelt before Francis and confessed and repented, inasmuch as he had judged hardly concerning the carelessness for the food of so many people, and he took for himself and his brethren the rule of holy poverty.

There was, however, another side to the picture which we find in the *Mirror of*

Perfection. Speaking of what was probably the same chapter, the writer says that some of the brethren urged the Cardinal to the end that Francis should follow the counsel of the wiser brethren, and that they should live according to the rule of St. Benedict or St. Augustine. When the Cardinal admonished Francis he answered, "The Lord hath called me by the way of simplicity and humility, and this way hath He pointed out to me in truth for myself, and for them that are willing to believe me and to imitate me. . . ." (See *Mirror of Perfection*, 68.)

Five years after this Francis with his brethren came back from Monte della Vernia, where he had seen the visions of the Crucified One. As they came near to the place Brother Leo saw a cross going before St. Francis. When he rested it rested, and when he went on it went with him, and from it there shone on the face of Francis a bright light, and the vision was with him till they entered the place of the brethren at Sta. Maria degli Angeli.

The present church of Sta. Maria degli Angeli was built from designs by Vignola,



INTERIOR OF SANTA MARIA DEGLI ANGELI

and the first stone was laid in 1569. It covers two buildings, the Porziuncola and the cell in which St. Francis died.

The visitor is generally taken in the first place to the sacristy. The walls of this room are panelled with carved wood-work of the sixteenth century, and in one corner there is a design intended to represent the Sepulchre at Jerusalem. There is a small half-length figure of Christ by Perugino, and there are two small paintings by Guido Reni. From the sacristy a short passage leads to the chapel of S. Carlo Borromeo. Here there is a rude picture of St. Francis, attributed to Giunta Pisano; it is painted on a piece of wood which is said to have formed part of the bed of St. Francis.

From the chapel of S. Carlo Borromeo we pass along an arcade to a space of open garden ground; on the left grow the roses of St. Francis.

The miracle of the roses happened in January. St. Francis had suffered much from temptation, and so that the flesh might be subdued, he went out and rolled among thorns and briars. Suddenly they burst out

into flower, and ever since they have grown without thorns. Two angels led him back to the altar, where he had a vision of Christ and Madonna seated on their throne in heaven among many angels. His prayer was heard, and indulgence was granted to those who are truly penitent and who visit the church.

From this garden the visitor enters the chapel of the roses. The inner part, which covers the grotto where Francis lived, was built by S. Bonaventura; the outer part was built by S. Bernardino. The whole contains frescoes painted by Tiberio d'Assisi, and though the pictures are not remarkable works of art, they harmonize with their surroundings.

The frescoes on the right in the chapel of S. Bernardino are:—

1. St. Francis rolls in the thorns; two angels appear to him.
2. St. Francis is led by two angels back to the church.

The pictures on the left are:—

3. St. Francis prays to Christ for an indulgence.

4. St. Francis presents roses at the altar, and sees a vision of Christ and Madonna.

5. The indulgence is confirmed by Honorius III.

6. St. Francis, accompanied by seven bishops, preaches the indulgence.

In the chapel of S. Bonaventura, which is built over the grotto, Tiberio has painted St. Francis with twelve disciples. The altar is dedicated in the names of five Franciscans who suffered in Morocco. While the martyrdom was taking place it was miraculously revealed to St. Francis as he knelt in prayer.

In the grotto below the altar, where St. Francis prayed, there are preserved two logs, part of the pulpit from which St. Francis preached the indulgence.

The visitor now re-enters the church. In the choir, to the left, is a door leading to a small choir, where a pulpit of S. Bernardino is preserved. Near this entrance, in the choir itself, is an elaborate sixteenth-century pulpit, with confessionals for various languages below.

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Round the pulpit the following subjects are carved: —

1. St. Francis rolls in the thorns.
2. St. Francis and seven bishops preach the indulgence.
3. St. Francis, when he presents the roses, sees the vision of Christ.
4. Honorius III. confirms the indulgence.
5. St. Francis descends into Purgatory to release the souls of brethren who are suffering.
6. Death of St. Francis.

To the right of the choir, opposite to this pulpit, is the room in which St. Francis died. On the outside is a panel painted by Giunta Pisano; it is said to have been part of the wooden cover which was over the body when it was carried up to Assisi. On the altar is a figure of the saint, worked by Luca della Robbia from a mask taken from the face of St. Francis.

On the walls are frescoes by Lo Spagna representing the twelve first disciples and six other famous Franciscans. In a tabernacle to the right of the entrance is preserved the cord of St. Francis marked with blood

when he received the stigmata, and also a piece of the habit of S. Bonaventura.

In the chapel of the relics, to the right of the entrance into the sacristy, is a crucifix by Giunta Pisano.

In a chapel to the left of the nave is a fine piece of Della Robbia ware. The centre of the composition is a Coronation of the Virgin. To the left St. Francis receives the stigmata, and to the right St. Jerome has a vision of Christ on the cross. In the predella there is (1) an Annunciation, (2) the Nativity, (3) the Adoration of the Magi.

The chapel of the Porziuncola itself stands under the great dome of the church. The fresco over the entrance door is a mannered picture by Overbeck, representing Christ and Madonna in heaven surrounded by angels. In a corresponding position on the east end of the chapel is a fresco by Perugino, restored in modern times. We see the up-rights of two crosses, but no actual crucifixion. Madonna is supported by attendants, St. Mary Magdalene looks upwards, and St. Francis kneels and clings to the foot of the cross.

On the right wall of the chapel, on the outside, there are remains of a fresco and an inscription to the memory of Pietro di Catana, who died in 1221. So many miracles were worked by its virtues that Francis ordered that no more should be done, and after that its power ceased.

About two miles from Sta. Maria degli Angeli, on the road to Spello, there is the church which has been known as that of Rivo Torto, the place to which St. Francis and his brethren went on their return from receiving the approbation of Pope Innocent III. In the church some small cells are shown which have been said to be those used by St. Francis. It is now believed that this church is not the place connected with the life of the brethren.

The Church of S. Damiano

The church of S. Damiano is an almost unchanged record of the primitive surroundings amongst which St. Francis and his early followers passed their lives.



AN OLD BRIDGE OVER THE TIBER

The simple chapel with its rough coarse furniture and the tiny dwelling-rooms attached are just as they were when Sta. Chiara and the women who followed her example lived here a life of holy poverty. The followers of Francis were not at first divided into orders, and there was no definite organization. The life which the master himself led was the pattern followed by the disciples, and simple rules were given to them by him to meet the conditions as they arose.

S. Damiano is associated with two momentous experiences in the spiritual life of St. Francis. It was here that he first devoted himself to the service of God, and it was in the work of restoring the ruined church that he made himself equal to the humblest.

During the time when he had become dissatisfied with his way of life, but had not resolved to separate himself from it, he went frequently to pray in the old chapel. While kneeling before a Byzantine crucifix he believed that he heard a voice saying, "Francis, go and restore My church."

Obeying the command literally, the young

man sold some of his father's cloth in the market at Foligno and came back to S. Damiano with the money, which he offered to the priest.

This act was decisive in separating him from his old life, for in order to escape from the anger of his father he left his home and took refuge in the chapel. When summoned by the magistrates of Assisi, at the instance of his father, he replied that as he had become the servant of the Church it was before the ecclesiastical tribunal that he should appear.

The bishop advised him to renounce all that he owned from his parents. Francis, fulfilling the injunction to the letter, stripped off his clothes and laid them at his father's feet, with the words, "Now I can say, 'Our Father, who art in heaven.'"

Soon after this he began the labour of restoring the chapel of S. Damiano. He went from door to door begging for money or for materials for the building, carrying the stones which were given to him upon his shoulders. The work of restoration was finished about the year 1208. S. Damiano

is associated not only with St. Francis but with Sta. Chiara, the first woman who adopted the Franciscan rule.

The chapel had been given to St. Francis by the Benedictine monks of Monte Subasio, and it became the home of Sta. Chiara soon after her act of renunciation in 1212. Within a short time she was joined by a few other women, and they received from St. Francis a rule of life very similar to that which was given to the brethren. St. Francis undertook that he and his followers should supply all the wants of the sisters, either by their labour or by the gathering of alms. In exchange, Sta. Chiara and her companions rendered service to the brethren by tending the sick and by making fair linen cloth for the furnishing of the altars of poor churches.

S. Damiano preserves various records of the life of labour and devotion spent by the "Poor Clares" within its walls, but there is no visible record of the visit which St. Francis paid when he composed the "Canticle of the Sun." It was in 1224 that the saint, on his return from Monte della Vernia, spent

some weeks in a little reed hut which Sta. Chiara had built for him in the garden.

Francis was suffering not only in body but also in mind. He was weighed down by illness, his sight was almost gone, and he was burdened with a sense of discouragement. The generalship of the order had been resigned to others two or three years before, and Francis now found himself in continual conflict with the more politic and more worldly schemes of the leaders. In the garden of S. Damiano, in the midst of the familiar scenes of his first enthusiasm, something of his old fervid joy in living came back to him, and he composed the "Canticle of the Sun." In this song he praises God for the goodness of living, for the sun, moon, stars, water, wind, fire, and earth. We and they are parts of the same creation. They are our helpful brothers and sisters. He thanks God also for His love and mercy, and lastly for His gift of our sister Death.

The author, well pleased with his song, began to lay plans how some of the brethren should be sent out as "*Joculatores Domini*," minstrels of God, and should sing the praises

of the created things everywhere. After having preached and sung he wished that they should say to the people, "All the payment that we want is that you should persevere in penitence."

The church stands on the slope of the hill about half a mile beyond the walls of the town. The approach to the inconspicuous building is by a steep path through an olive garden.

There is a little courtyard in front of the church, and entering it, we see in front of us on the end wall of the building a damaged fresco illustrating an incident in the life of Sta. Chiara.

In 1234 a body of Saracen troops, led by one of the generals of Frederick II., passed through Umbria, attacking and pillaging the towns as they went. On their way to Assisi they came to the convent of S. Damiano, and began to assail the building. The soldiers were already mounting the ladders raised against the walls when Sta. Chiara, carrying the Pix containing the Host in front of her, appeared at the little window. Kneeling down she began to sing,

"Thou hast rebuked the heathen, Thou hast put out their name for ever and ever." At the sound of her fearless voice the assailants, abashed and discomfited, withdrew from the attack and left both the convent and the city unmolested.

Under the portico, to the right of the entrance into the church, is a chapel which was added in the sixteenth century, with frescoes by Tiberio d'Assisi.

The picture represents the Virgin and Child enthroned, with S. Bernardino and St. Jerome on the left, and St. Francis and Sta. Chiara on the right. The small figure of a nun kneeling beside Sta. Chiara is said to represent her sister Agnes. S. Bernardino of Siena came to Assisi in 1425. He preached to large crowds of the inhabitants, exhorting them particularly against the love of personal adornment and of games of chance. A monogram of the name of Jesus was carried in procession through the streets, and the townspeople laid aside all work to attend the sermons of the saint.

Entering the church we find a small building with a low vaulted roof. There are damaged

frescoes upon the smoke-blackened walls, of small value as works of art. Above the altar, which stands against the wall to the left on entering, is a cupboard with a number of relics of Sta. Chiara.

The censer and chalice used by her and the bell which summoned the sisters to office are shown. They are of the simplest description, the fit possessions of one who carried out the ideal of holy poverty consistently through life. On the shelf is one of the loaves of bread which she blessed when Innocent IV. came to visit her. The cupboard also contains a breviary written by Frate Leone, and a bit of the cord of St. Francis.

A small chapel leading out of the nave on the right was added in the seventeenth century. It contains a carved crucifix by Innocenzo da Palermo (1635).

Behind the high altar is the old choir of Sta. Chiara, with the primitive wooden stalls and reading-desk. A list of the names of the sisters in the time of St. Francis is shown here, and a hole in the wall near the altar is pointed out as the place where St.

Francis hid when he was pursued by his father.

A number of small rooms with low roofs and worn brick floors lead out of the choir. A stone upon the wall of one of the passages marks the burial-place of the first followers of Sta. Chiara.

Upstairs, the oratory is of the same simple and primitive character. There are no works of art to be seen here of any value; there is only the faithful record of a life of voluntary self-denial. In the month of May, the year 1228, Gregory IX. came to Assisi for the purpose of arranging the preliminaries for the canonization of St. Francis, and turned aside on his journey to visit Sta. Chiara at S. Damiano. The Pope had already addressed many letters of encouragement to the foundress of the "Poor Clares," for whom he evidently entertained a warm admiration. At the same time he persistently tried to persuade Sta. Chiara to modify the rule of living without possessions. He endeavoured also to restrict the intercourse which existed between the brothers and sisters, and forbade the Frati to preach in

S. Damiano without the permission of the Holy See. Sta. Chiara, however, maintained an uninterrupted friendship with those of the brethren who had shared with her the disciple's enthusiastic belief in their master's ideal. When she died in the convent in 1253, three of the brethren stood beside her death-bed.

The Hermitage of the Carceri

This small convent is built on the sides of Monte Subasio. The path leaves Assisi by the gate at the end of the town farthest from S. Francesco, and from this point one or one and a half hours ought to be allowed for the walk.

Originally a little chapel was built here by the Benedictines, and since the time of Francis a network of small chapels, a few sleeping-cells, and a refectory have existed. In the woods round about there are caves associated with the names of the early Franciscans, and to these places they retired for solitary contemplation. Perhaps here more than elsewhere it is possible to realize the

daily life of the early Franciscans, and nowhere else is the sense of primitive simplicity so complete.

The visitor enters a small courtyard, in the centre of which is a well said to have been built by S. Bernardino of Siena, the spring itself being the result of a miracle worked by St. Francis. From this court we enter the chapel called after S. Bernardino; it is some twenty-one feet long by sixteen feet broad. In it are preserved relics of St. Francis:—

1. The tabernacle for the sacrament used in his time.

2. A chalice of the same period.

3. A pillow used by St. Francis.

4. The cord of Brother Egidio.

5. The cross and hair shirt of St. Francis.

At the end of the chapel are five little stalls, the second of which is traditionally assigned to St. Francis.

From this comparatively large chapel we pass into the Cappella Primitiva. This is said to have been the first chapel used by St. Francis; it has no window, and is only about twelve feet long by six feet broad.



THE ROAD TO PERUGIA

To the left, three steps lead up into the choir of S. Bernardino; round it there are twelve stalls, and beside these there is room for nothing but a reading-stand. The sacristy which serves for all these chapels is about six feet by four feet six inches, and it is lighted by a window no larger than a pane of glass. At the entrance to the sacristy there is a trap-door, and passing down about fifteen steps the chamber of St. Francis is reached. Like many other parts of the building, it rests on the live rock. The space occupied by the bed is shown. The room measures about nine feet by six feet. Next to this bed space is an oratory where St. Francis prayed.

The doors by which these chambers are entered are so small that no ordinary person can stand upright, and the width is strictly in proportion. Outside the oratory is an opening leading down into the gorge below it; it was by this passage that the devil escaped when he tempted St. Francis and was beaten off by the saint.

Returning to the monastery the small bed-chambers built against the live rock may be

seen. Below these is the refectory. At the end of one of the tables the place of S. Bernardino is shown. The wooded gorge in which the conventual buildings stand is most picturesque, and the views over the vale of Spoleto, both from the convent and from the path leading to it, are exceedingly fine.

CHAPTER III

THE CHURCH OF S. FRANCESCO

General Notes upon the Building

FRANCIS died on the 4th October, 1226. It is said that he desired to be buried on the hill where criminals were executed, known as the Colle del Inferno. The story does not seem to rest on sound authority, but the fact that such a legend became current shows the popular estimate of the desire which Francis had for self-abasement.

On the day after his death the body was carried by way of S. Damiano up to Assisi and laid in S. Giorgio, now part of the church of Sta. Chiara. Francis was canonized by Pope Gregory IX. on the 16th July, 1228, and next day the foundation of the church of S. Francesco is said to have been laid. The first architect was a certain Jacobus or

Giacomo. He is supposed to have been in the service of Frederick II., who was friendly with Frate Elias, the general of the Franciscan order. The brethren worked at the building, and under the energetic direction of the general it was so far finished in 1230, that a general chapter of the order was held in the convent, and the body of St. Francis was translated from S. Giorgio on the 24th May. It is said that, in order to prevent a forcible seizure, it was planned between the magistrates and Frate Elias that at a certain point in the procession soldiers should surround the coffin and hurry it into the church, excluding all but the brethren. Whether this be true or not the place of burial was known to very few. In the year 1818 the tomb was discovered and opened, and the remains of the body were found. In 1232 Filippo da Campello appears as architect of the building. He was still at work in 1253. In 1236 it is recorded that Giunta Pisano painted a great cross with Frate Elias at the foot; but this has disappeared. In 1239 the building of the Campanile was sufficiently advanced to receive a bell made by Bar-

tolomeus, a Pisan; it bore the inscription "Christ conquers, Christ reigns, Christ rules." In 1246 the commune fixed the limits of the piazza in front of the church so as to prevent houses being built nearer to it. In 1253 Pope Innocent IV. consecrated the great altar of the lower church. It is formed of a single stone brought from Constantinople. The lower church as built by Frate Elias consisted of a simple nave, transepts, and shallow choir, following the plan of the upper church as we see it to-day. In the fourteenth century side chapels were added and the church assumed the form that it now has.

In the beginning of the fourteenth century (about 1310) two brothers of the Orsini family, Napoleone and Giovanni, built the chapels at the ends of the transepts, viz. the chapel of St. Nicholas or of the Holy Sacrament, and the chapel of St. John the Baptist.

Gentile Partino da Montefiore (Cardinal, 1298) was the founder of the chapel of St. Martin and the chapel of St. Louis the King opposite to it.

The chapel of St. Mary Magdalene was founded, or perhaps only finished, by Tebaldo Pontano di Todi, who was Bishop of Assisi from 1314 to 1329.

The chapel of St. Catherine or del Crocifisso is said to have been built by Cardinal Egidio Albornoz in 1353.

Pope Sixtus IV. (1471-1484) had been general of the order before he became Pope, and his reign was a time of activity at S. Francesco. Under the general Sansoni there was a good deal of restoration, and the vestibule to the lower church was added. The small burial-ground opening out of the chapel of St. Anthony the Abbot was also built in 1478.

The church of S. Francesco has its choirs to the west and its main entrances at the eastern end. For the purposes of description, however, it has been thought best to consider the orientation from an ecclesiastical point of view rather than from the natural. The choirs, therefore, are treated as if they were at the east end, and when the visitor stands in the nave and looks to the



CHURCH OF S. FRANCESCO

altar, the transepts and chapels to the right hand are called southern, those to the left northern. The plan of the upper church is too simple to need any detailed description; that of the lower is more difficult. On the ground plan the chapels, etc., are indicated by Roman numerals. It will save time if the traveller will begin by going round the church, using the Ground Plan I. to familiarize himself with the various points of interest, somewhat as follows:—

The visitor enters the lower church by the doorway of 1478 (XI. on Plan I.). On the vault of the arch overhead there is a worthless picture of St. Francis in Glory. The significant part of the legend attached to it may be rendered: "Stay thy steps to rejoice, O traveller. Now thou drawest near to the hill of Paradise. This is the glorious basilica dedicated to the divine Francis of Assisi, the restorer of the falling Church of Christ."

To the right of the entrance transept there is:—

1. A Gothic tomb with an urn supposed

to be that of Catherine, daughter of the Queen of Cyprus.

2. A Gothic tomb supposed to be that of Hecuba, Queen of Cyprus, who died in Assisi in 1240.

3. The Chapel of St. Anthony the Abbot, containing the tombs of a Count of Spoleto and his son. Out of this chapel a door leads to a small graveyard (1478) surrounded by cloisters. The entrance transept is closed by the Chapel of St. Catherine or del Crocefisso (X. on the plan).

Returning to the entrance door (XI. on the plan), there is to the left: —

1. The small chapel of St. Sebastian.

2. A fresco attributed to Ottaviano Nelli. Madonna is seated on a throne, on the pedestals of which are the four cardinal virtues. To the left stand SS. Francis and Anthony the Abbot, and to the right a bishop.

Passing into the nave the first chapel to the left is that of St. Martin (XIII. on Plan I.). The first to the right, that of St. Louis the King, or St. Stephen (VIII. on the plan). The second chapel to the left is that



Plan I. — Ground Plan of the Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi

of St. Peter of Alcantara (XIV. on the plan). The second chapel to the right is that of St. Anthony of Padua (VII. on the plan). The pulpit (XV. on the plan) occupies the next bay to the left. The third chapel to the right is that of St. Mary Magdalene (VI. on the plan).

We next pass into the transepts, in the centre of which (I. on the plan) stands the high altar. Turning to the right into the southern transept there is the altar originally dedicated to Maria Virgine Immacolata (II. on the plan). Behind it five of the first disciples of St. Francis are buried. The southern transept is closed by the chapel of St. Nicholas or the chapel of the Holy Sacrament (V. on the plan). Returning to the high altar and passing to the left into the northern transept there is the altar originally dedicated to St. John the Evangelist (III. on the plan). Behind it are buried five of the early disciples. Near to this altar is the entrance to the sacristy, and the stair which leads to the upper church.

We have in the next place to examine the various systems of frescoes throughout

the upper and lower churches. Those in the *upper* are distinguished by *letters of the alphabet*, those in the *lower* church by *Arabic numerals*.

The paintings have such various interests that it has been thought best in the first place to group them according to the artistic influences which they appear to represent, and then to suggest the probable significance of the various parts of the work in the light of the ideas of the time, and particularly with regard to the theories of St. Francis and his disciples. In addition to such general considerations some description of the frescoes which appear to be of most interest has been attempted.

Artistic Influences

The overthrow of classical civilization in Western Europe in the fifth and sixth centuries of our era destroyed for a time all possibility of a native art in Italy. Throughout the turmoil and desolation of the Gothic, the Lombard, and the Frankish conquests the Church alone maintained any sem-

blance of imperial traditions. It was the Church also that first felt the want of an art that might enable her to christianize the newly converted barbarians.

When dogma could not be expressed in terms of the written word, it became necessary to make an appeal to the eye and to the feelings.

For many centuries the Church had to depend on the east for the pictures, the mosaics, and the sculpture by means of which the Christian faith was made familiar to the barbarians. Constantinople was more fortunate than Rome, for from the foundation of the city up to the time of the fourth crusade (1204) no foreign invaders entered her gates. There was thus a continuous tradition from the days of Constantine onwards. It was to men trained in this civilization that western Europe mainly owed the revival of art.

The process of recovery was very slow, but in the twelfth century there are unmistakable signs that the barbarian conquerors of southern Europe had begun to learn effectively from their Greek teachers.

In sculpture the first advance was made in France, and in painting in Italy.

During the thirteenth century there is evidence that the descendants of Roman and barbarian had become a new race full of energy and power, destined to transform the world.

It is in the church of San Francesco that the first efforts of this new race in the art of painting may be most easily studied. We can see here how a new style grew up in which new views of life were depicted by new methods.

Up to the end of the thirteenth century the native painter depended upon Byzantine custom, which he frequently comprehended in a very incomplete manner.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century Tuscan art became a free and natural exponent of the nation which had been fused out of many generations of Etruscan, Latin, and barbarian ancestors. Vasari says that Giotto banished the rude Greek manner. It could be more truly said that he banished the rude native manner.

In the following list of the frescoes in

S. Francesco, an attempt is made to place them in order of their tendency towards the full development of Florentine art.

It begins with those frescoes which show most Byzantine influence. These are followed by the works of artists who understood neither the good of the old tradition nor the force of the new life. This crude native art is followed by the Tuscan frescoes. These are arranged under the two schools of Siena and Florence, the latter being regarded as the most complete expression of the new manner. The list is not chronological, for there are no documents known at present by which the dates of the frescoes can be fixed, nor does it indicate any supposed order of artistic capacity. It is only an attempt to place the pictures according to tendency, beginning with Byzantine work and ending with Florentine.

I. *Frescoes in the Byzantine Manner*

Scenes from the Old and New Testaments.—

Nave of the upper church.

Christ, St. Francis, Madonna, and St. John the Baptist.— Roof of the upper church.

II. *Transition from Byzantine to Tuscan Style*

Madonna and Child (attributed to Cimabue).— Southern transept, lower church.

III. *Frescoes in the Native Manner*

Acts of the Apostles.— Southern transept, upper church.

Death and Assumption of the Virgin.— Choir, upper church.

Life of Christ and St. Francis.— Nave, lower church.

The Four Evangelists.— Roof, upper church.

Apocalyptic scenes, etc.— Northern transept, upper church.

The Four Latin Doctors.— Roof, upper church.

IV. *Frescoes in the Sienese Manner*

Half-lengths of Franciscan saints.— Southern transept, lower church.

Acts of St. Martin.— Chapel of St. Martin, lower church.

Series of Passion scenes.— Northern transept, lower church.

Madonna and Child, with St. John the

Baptist and St. Francis.— Northern transept, lower church.

V. Frescoes in the Florentine Manner

Chapel of St. Catherine.— Lower church.

Chapel of St. Nicholas.— Lower church.

Life of St. Francis.— Nave, upper church.

Fresco over the pulpit.— Nave, lower church.

Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene.— Lower church.

Life of Christ.— Southern transept, lower church.

Allegorical frescoes over the high altar.— Lower church.

If the frescoes are studied in some such order as the foregoing, it will be seen that the abandonment of the old manner did not always lead to improvement. The native artist in his efforts to stand alone was hampered by the visible failings of Byzantine painters without being inspired by the imagination that often turned these faults into a form of virtue.

Nor were the artists before the time of Giotto gifted with the high intellectual pur-



A QUIET STREET

pose that caused the abstractions of the Greek painters to become a magnificent means of rendering their speculations on human life.

But though the advance of painting was very slow it never halted, nor did it stand alone. The arts of sculpture and mosaic developed, however, at an earlier period than painting, and we must for a moment consider them, if we would understand the movement which resulted in the Sienese and Florentine schools of the fourteenth century.

Artistic Influences Preceding Giotto

The most promising art of the thirteenth century was that of sculpture.

North of the Apennines the growth of power may be gauged by a comparison between the rude work on S. Michele at Pavia with the sculpture of Antelami at Parma and Borgo San Donino. The improvement is based on the union of the vigour and imagination of the north with the classical instinct of the south.

In like manner Tuscan sculpture, in the

Romanesque manner, finds its highest expression in the group of St. Martin and the beggar, on the façade of the Duomo at Lucca. This work was executed about 1250, and it is a remarkable instance of the fusion of northern and classical influences. It marks the birth of a new style which is no longer Latin nor Teuton, but Italian.

During the thirteenth century, when Romanesque sculptors were perfecting this Italian style, Niccolo Pisano (1206?-1280?), passing by Byzantine models, went straight to the antique. He thus originated a new point of view which was destined to influence the development of art. Giovanni Pisano (d. 1320), the son and pupil of Niccolo, owed his training to the classical inclination of his father, but his inspiration was the same as that of the sculptors of Chartres and Amiens.

In Rome the name of Vassalectus on the cloisters of St. John Lateran (1220-1230) recalls a revival of the art of the marble mason. The Cosmati family also made many designs for pulpits, lamps, altar fronts, and candelabra. The work is characterized by

a sense of style, and is remarkable for his classical grace and refinement.

With one exception no remarkable work in mosaic belongs to the thirteenth century. Byzantine tradition held its own in the atrium of S. Marco at Venice, and the old manner prevails in the mosaics of the tribune of the baptistery at Florence (about 1225).

No other work of importance appears till 1290. At this time Pietro Cavallini, a Roman artist, made some remarkable pictures under the semi-dome of Sta. Maria in Trastevere. They show vigour and dramatic power, and they are distinctly in advance of the frescoes in the upper church at Assisi. It is noteworthy that when Giotto went to Rome (1298?) he is said to have chosen Cavallini as his assistant. Except perhaps at Subiaco, none of the important series of frescoes belonging to the thirteenth century show signs of new life until we come to the paintings at Assisi. Of these the scenes from the Old and New Testaments in the nave of the upper church are the most interesting examples. They are fine instances

of the state of painting before the time of Giotto. The art is still stiffened by memories of the old style, but they are striking and dignified pictures.

In all the various arts there may be noted at the end of the thirteenth century a blending of classical feeling with northern imagination and strength. It is to the organic union of these two tendencies that we owe the new style of Giotto. The development arising from the fusion of Latin and Teuton took two distinct lines in Tuscany. The schools of Siena and Florence both sprang from this new force. The former represented the emotional and devout, the latter the intellectual and scientific energies of the time. The Sienese painters moved neither so far nor so fast as the Florentines, and we therefore consider them first.

Sienese Branch of the Tuscan School

The Sienese school is represented by many examples in the lower church. To Simone Martini (1285?-1344) are attributed the half-length figures in the southern transept and

the scenes from the life of St. Martin in the chapel dedicated in his name. The Passion scenes, and the half-length of Madonna and Child with SS. John the Baptist and Francis, in the northern transept, are usually attributed to Pietro Lorenzetti (1348).

The attachment of the Sienese painters to Byzantine tradition was stronger than it was among the Florentines. Their painting is characterized by a religious feeling, which appeals to the emotions rather than to the thoughts of men. Instead of the dramatic vigour and the intensity of life such as we find in Giotto, the Sienese masters realize themselves in mystical sentiment.

The half-length figures in the southern transept have a detached air as if they only belonged to this life by accident. They are gracious and benign (except St. Francis), with just a faint shadow of melancholy. The singularity of the Sienese type, though it is not beautiful, yields itself to the realization of these saintly shadows. They are not contemplative souls, for that would imply thought; they are not emotional, for that would imply feeling. The limpid colour, the

abstract form, and the richness of such decoration as the artist permitted himself to use, all conduce to the unearthly fascination of these elusive figures. They seem ready to vanish before our eyes, and yet never cease to haunt our memories.

The frescoes in the Chapel of St. Martin are supposed to be by the same hand, and they have something of the same grace. If there is a curious air of arrested life, there is also beauty of detail and a refinement of feeling that cannot fail to charm. The frescoes make an appeal to us in a way that does not reach to any very deep emotion, nor to any wide intellectual outlook, but no one can fail to cherish the recollection of such cultivated and delicate art. The most striking work in the chapel is in the figures on the under surface of the entrance arch — Louis IX. of France stands before us with the true dignity of a king, and something of the spirit of a saint.

The Passion frescoes in the northern transept differ greatly from the other Sienese work in the church. There is a want of ordered disposition, there is an extravagance

in expression, a lack of quality in type, and a failure in dramatic capacity which is very remarkable. The colour is wanting in purity and refinement; this may, however, be owing to restoration. It is true that the history of the Passion makes a greater demand on the artist than any other works common in churches, but the painter of the northern transept has failed to give dignified and pertinent expression to these scenes of triumph, of treachery, of suffering, of grief, and of victory. There is vigour and sincerity and a magnificence in scale which prevents the pictures from being insignificant, but they fall below the level of Sienese and Florentine work of the period.

The Florentine Branch of the Tuscan School

Among the artistic interests which are gathered about the Church of S. Francesco it is the influence of Giotto that stands out beyond all others. It was the genius of this man that transformed Italian painting. What the artists of S. Denis, Chartres, and Amiens did for sculpture Giotto did for painting.

He lived in Florence (1276-1337) when the power of the city was at its height, and at a time when the force of individual men and of vigorous personality was making a small Italian town a centre of influence felt throughout the world. There were fewer obstacles than usual to the development of individual character, for the communes had beaten the empire, and they had subdued the feudal aristocracy. So great was the personal distinction of Florentine citizens that on the occasion of the presentation of ambassadors to Boniface VIII. at the jubilee of 1300, the number of Florentines among them caused him to say that, to the four old elements of the world there must now be added a fifth, viz., the Florentines.

Giotto was a true son of his vigorous and highly intellectual society. The fire and glow of his genius enabled him to express the ultimate ideas on which the life of the newly awakened world was based.

The hierarchical life resting on authority was losing its hold on cultivated Italian society. The natural life of the modern world was becoming the moving force among men.



PAOLO UCCELLO. — PORTRAIT OF GIOTTO

The art of Giotto is the expression of this new existence.

It was the same in other human relations. The spiritual appeal of St. Francis was made directly to the individual.

In literature Dante took the speech of the common people, the vulgar tongue, and in it he wrote his great poem. So likewise Giotto regarded the common life of ordinary men; he appealed to feelings and ideas which all share. He painted the mysteries of existence so that, in a measure, they might be comprehended by every one, and yet he understood the deeper spiritual significance of his subject. In the hands of many of his followers the outward character of his style was copied, without a sense of its inner qualities.

We often have cause to regret the great Byzantine tradition, in which the mystery is never forgotten although its directly human relationship may be overlooked.

The mind of Giotto did not yield to extremes. He could understand at once the feeling of the mystic and the active life of the ordinary man. He could paint the "holy poverty" of St. Francis with marvellous

insight, and he wrote a poem questioning the wisdom of the ideal of life which it involved. The Presentation of the Child in the Temple is the figure of a great mystery, and at the same time he invests it with the sentiment of the relation of mother and child. He knows how to pass by the immaterial, and yet he avoids becoming too purely abstract. His knowledge of perspective was imperfect, his control of drapery was incomplete, his observation of natural forms and of landscape was more or less elementary, and yet he can place his men and women before us as real beings, full of life and purpose. He causes them to move easily, he renders emotion for the most part naturally, he expresses thought with significance.

The gaiety and purity of his colour, the power and simplicity of his line, the directness and force of his design, place him in relation with all men. The man of the world and the mystic will each find what he seeks. Giotto is a great dramatist, a brilliant colourist, a powerful draughtsman, a master of design, an able thinker, and a man full of human sympathies.

No agreement has yet been reached as to what Giotto painted in S. Francesco. The series of the life of St. Francis in the upper church, the series of the life of Christ in the southern transept of the lower church, and the frescoes in the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene, have all been attributed to him, and have all been given to other masters as well. The four frescoes over the great altar in the lower church are probably the only works of which his authorship has been unchallenged. But though it is impossible to say certainly what he himself painted, it is to his influence that we owe all or most of the above-mentioned frescoes.

The Significance of the Pictures in S. Francesco

The purpose of the frescoes in the upper and lower churches may be most easily understood if they are taken in the following order: —

I. *In the nave, choir, and transepts of the upper church*, the frescoes deal with the general relation between God and man, as set forth in Scripture.

II. *In the southern and northern transepts of the lower church* there is the history of the Incarnation and Resurrection.

III. *In the chapels of the lower church*, the acts of St. Mary Magdalene, St. Stephen, St. Lawrence, St. Catherine, St. Nicholas, and St. Martin are described.

IV. The Franciscan ideal is painted *over the high altar of the lower church*, and the acts of St. Francis *in the nave of the upper church*.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHURCH OF S. FRANCESCO — THE UPPER CHURCH

A PART from the Franciscan pictures the series in the upper church gives a complete history of the world in its relation to man. The scenes of Creation are followed by the history of the Fall and the story of the Patriarchs (on the right wall of the nave). Opposite to these frescoes is an account of the Incarnation (on the left wall of the nave), which finds its completion in the Life and Death of the Virgin and her Coronation in Heaven (in the choir). The Gospel of the Incarnation was preached by the Apostles (southern transept), it was recorded by the Evangelists (vault), and taught by the Doctors (vault). The whole is brought to a conclusion in the Vision of the End of the World (northern transept), where on the one hand the prayers of the saints are offered up before

the throne, and on the other there is depicted the Fall of Babylon, typical of the fate of sinners.

The disposition of scenes from the Old and New Testaments in relation to each other, such as we find in the nave of the upper church, is common in mediæval thought. The law written by the finger of God is a foreshadowing of the Gospel. The men of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries did not regard the history of the world as divided into "ancient" and "modern"; they had a stronger sense of historical continuity than we have, and the change from the old to the new was no more than a passing from the type to its realization. St. Augustine, speaking of the Old Testament, says: "In every page, while I pursue my search as a son of Adam in the sweat of my brow, Christ either openly or covertly meets me and refreshes me." Christ was killed in Abel; He was mocked in Noah; He was sacrificed in Isaac; He was made a servant in Jacob; He was sold in Joseph.

The Old and the New Testaments, the writings of the Prophets, Apostles, and

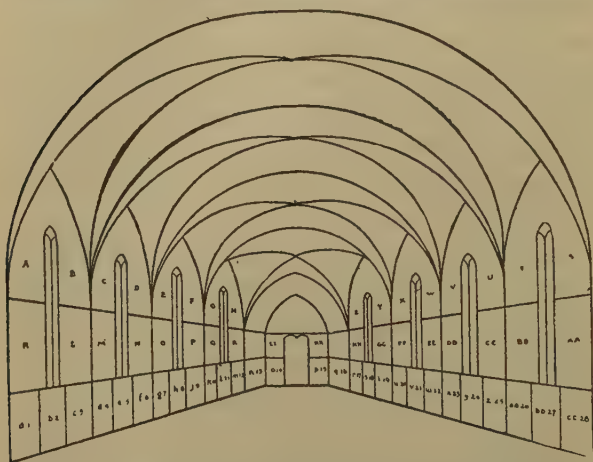
Evangelists, the unveiling of the Vision, and the teaching of the Doctors, all had one end — they are the record of faith (*Par.* xxiv. 91-96), they encourage our hope (*Par.* xxv. 88-90), they animate our love (*Par.* xxvi. 25-27). We realize the purpose of the design of the upper church as a whole when Dante declares that his belief in God comes through Moses, through the Prophets and Psalms, through the Gospel and the writings of the Apostles (*Par.* xxiv. 130-138).

The series of frescoes from the Old and New Testament are painted on the nave of the upper church. They are arranged in upper and lower courses.

PLAN II. (p. 78)

A. God creates the World. He appears in the act of blessing. Round about Him there is a double circle of light; in the inner circle there are angels, in the outer some faint traces suggest symbols of the heavens which the angels move and guide. Below this central figure the Dove, with a circular nimbus, floats over the water. To the left of the Dove is a symbol of the sun, and to the

right that of the moon. In the water there are fish of many kinds; on the land there are plants and trees, with birds resting in the branches. Four-footed beasts are represented



Plan II.—Nave of the Upper Church of San Francesco, Assisi

by sheep, etc. Creation is complete except for man.

B. God animates the form of Adam. This fresco is much damaged.

C. Creation of Eve.

D. Temptation and Fall. Little more

than the fine figure of Adam is left. It is of good proportion, and shows artistic capacity.

E. The Expulsion from Paradise. The figures of Adam and Eve are inferior to the single figure of Adam in the Temptation. The action of the angel is exaggerated.

F, G, H, destroyed.

The lower series from the Old Testament begin again at the *end nearest the transept*.

K. Noah building the Ark. The hand of God appears in the sky warning Noah to build the ark. Noah is seated overlooking his sons, who work with nervous energy.

L. The Entering into the Ark. This fresco is much destroyed.

M. Sacrifice of Isaac. The child is bound hand and foot on an altar of elaborate construction. Abraham's left hand rests on the child's head, his right arm is raised, and he wields a scimitar with a vigour and good-will that is decidedly repulsive.

N. Three Angels appear to Abraham. The fresco is much damaged, but two of the angels are still to be seen. The staid gravity and dignity of expression and bearing in the

principal angel is very striking. They have heavily braided hair, and immense wings crudely coloured as we see them now. The figure of Abraham kneeling before the angels is nearly gone.

O. The Deception of Isaac. The figure of Isaac is almost destroyed, and of Rebecca, who superintends the deceit, little more than the face is left. Jacob has a nimbus, his hands are covered with skin, and his father feels them to make sure of the identity of his son. The figure of Jacob is a remarkably fine example of the work which was done before the time of Giotto. There is in it a high sense of quality and style.

. P. Esau brings Food to his Father. The blind patriarch is finely rendered. Esau, and a woman who stands looking on, are of a poor type.

Q. Joseph put into a Pit by his Brethren. This fresco is nearly destroyed. A few sheep may be seen on the rocks.

R. Joseph's Brethren kneel before Him. A servant in the background shows the gold cup which has been found in Benjamin's sack.



A MODERN STREET

The New Testament series on the left wall of the nave include: —

S. The Annunciation. Almost entirely gone.

T. Destroyed.

U. The Nativity. The Virgin reclines in a fashion usually associated with Byzantine design. The Child lies at the mouth of the cave, and behind are the ox and the ass. Joseph sits with his head resting on one hand. Over the roof of the cave the angels sing the "Gloria in excelsis," and one of them announces the birth to the shepherds, who look up in questioning wonder. Sheep browse in the foreground.

V. Destroyed. Probably the Adoration of the Magi was represented.

W. Presentation in the Temple. This fresco is nearly destroyed.

X. Flight into Egypt. Destroyed.

Y. Christ with the Doctors in the Temple. Much damaged.

Z. Baptism of Christ. Much damaged.

New Testament scenes in the *lower course*, beginning at the transept end of the wall are; —

AA. The Marriage in Cana. An elaborate feast is set out. The bride is dressed with great magnificence. She wears a crown and many jewels. At her side is the judge of the feast, represented by a form of classical type. On the left are the nimbed heads of Christ and His mother.

BB. Destroyed.

CC. The Betrayal. A crowded picture of inferior design. The types are poor, and the action of Peter, who cuts off the servant's ear, is grotesque.

DD. Destroyed.

EE. The Bearing of the Cross. May be just discerned.

FF. The Crucifixion. This picture is in very poor condition.

GG. The Entombment. The mother bends over her Son's head. St. Mary Magdalene raises one of His feet. St. John takes a hand. Two finely draped women stand in the back-ground. Angels weep and wail in the sky. The fresco is much damaged.

HH. The three Maries at the Tomb. Nearly destroyed.



SCHOOL OF GIOTTO. — MADONNA AND CHILD

The series is continued on the *end wall of the nave*: —

KK. The Ascension of Christ. Christ is seen rising into the heavens. An angel of fine design, and with brilliant wings, exhorts the Apostles.

LL. Descent of the Holy Spirit. The Dove, amidst rays, descends upon Madonna and the Apostles. The picture is badly damaged.

Over the centre of the western door is a medallion with Madonna and Child.

Above the Ascension is a bust of St. Peter, and above the Descent of the Holy Spirit is a bust of St. Paul.

The Choir

The upper church was dedicated in the name of S. Maria Assunta in Cielo. It is therefore natural that the life of the Virgin should be painted in the choir.

The history of Mary also forms a continuation of the history on the left wall of the nave, in so far as it leads to the consummation of the bond of union between mankind and Christ in His human relations.

The frescoes are in great part only shadows,

and some of the subjects can only be doubtfully determined.

PLAN III (p. 85)

- (a.) Uncertain subject.
- (b.) A striking landscape; subject uncertain.
- (c.) Perhaps the Nativity of the Virgin.
- (d.) Perhaps the Betrothal of Joseph and Mary.
- (e.) The Apostles assembled at the Death-bed of the Virgin. Mary being seized with a strong desire to be with her Son, an angel made known her approaching end. She asked that she might be allowed to see her sons and brethren the Apostles before she died, and they were miraculously brought from the various countries where they were preaching.
- (f.) After the Apostles were gathered, Christ came in the night with the choirs of patriarchs, martyrs, confessors, and virgins. They all made songs and music around the Virgin, and in the morning the soul left the body and was carried up in the arms of Christ
- (g.) The Assumption of the Virgin. The



body having been laid in a tomb by the order of Christ, the Apostles watched beside it. The fresco shows three ranks of those who waited. Nearest to the tomb are saints, each with bare head and a circular nimbus. The other ranks are crowned and nimbed. On the third day Christ appeared and asked how He ought to do honour to His mother? It was answered that as Christ had conquered death and reigned for ever over the world, He should raise His mother and set her on His right hand. We see the empty tomb, and over the ranks of saints Christ and the Virgin rise up in an aureole, supported by angels.

(h.) Christ and the Virgin in Glory.

In the galleries and the arcading above these pictures there are to the left two angels with Madonna, and three nimbed saints below, and to the right three Apostles (?), with ecclesiastics below.

Southern Transept

PLAN IV (p. 89)

This part of the church was dedicated in the name of the Apostles, who are painted

in the galleries, six on each side of the transept. (r.) The two lines are headed by SS. Peter and Paul. They are tall, striking figures, finely draped, and there is no tendency to make the heads unduly large.

Below are various acts of the Apostles.

(s.) Probably the healing of the lame man by SS. Peter and John at the beautiful gate of the Temple.

(t.) Probably a record of works of healing such as are described in Acts v. 6: "There came also a multitude out of the cities round about unto Jerusalem, bringing sick folk and them which were vexed with unclean spirits, and they were healed every one."

(u.) Death of Simon Magus. Simon being in favour with the Emperor Nero, and having by enchantment worked various seeming miracles, was withstood by SS. Peter and Paul. As a final effort to defeat the Apostles he announced that he would ascend into heaven. He climbed a high tower on the Capitol, and threw himself off. He was supported by devils until St. Peter commanded them to let him go, and then he fell

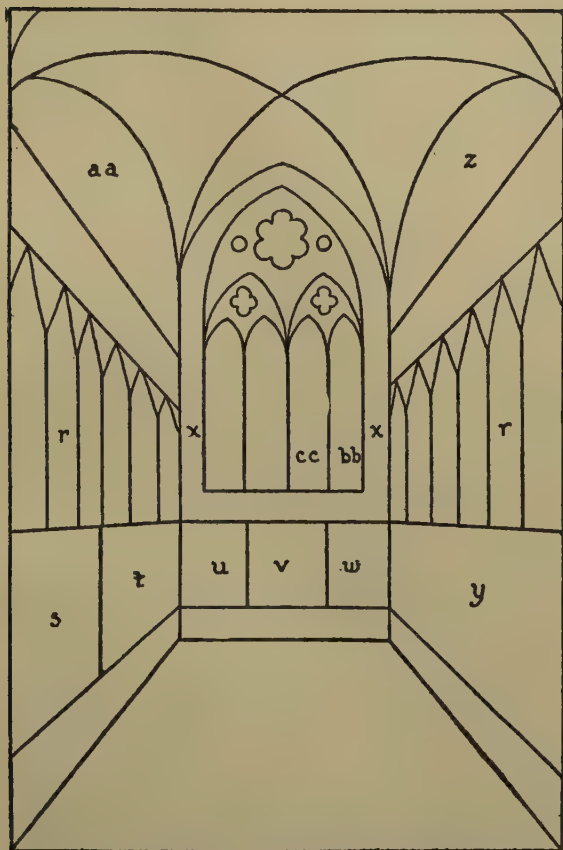
and died. The Roman Emperor (?), attended by soldiers, watches the scene.

(v.) Crucifixion of St. Peter under the Emperor Nero. St. Peter willed to be crucified head downwards, as he said it was not fitting that he should die as Christ had done. It is usually supposed that the pyramid in the picture represents that of Cestius in Rome.

(w.) Destroyed. Little can be seen except a rocky landscape.

(x.) At the sides of the window there are remains of a fresco showing St. Paul, probably before Nero. After the Apostle had confessed Christ, the emperor ordered him to be beheaded.

(y.) A Crucifixion. The figure on the cross is large and heavy, the eyes are closed, there is no inscription over the head, and the feet are separated. The lance and sponge bearers are in their usual places. Madonna falls fainting into the arms of those about her. The disposition of the crowd of figures is not well managed. Angels fly round the Christ, and one of them catches the blood from the side.



Plan IV. — Southern Transept of the Upper Church of San Francesco, Assisi

(z.) In the lunette above the Crucifixion is the remains of a picture of the Transfiguration.

(aa.) The fresco in the lunette opposite has been destroyed.

Northern Transept, Upper Church

PLAN V (p. 93)

This part of the church was dedicated in the name of St. Michael and the holy angels.

(dd.) In the galleries, on the right and left walls, there are large and magnificent figures of angels, three on each side.

(ee.) Above the gallery, to the right, are six half-lengths of angels.

(ff.) St. Michael and two other angels thrust down the great dragon and two other evil spirits.

The frescoes on the lower parts of the walls refer to the vision of the end of the world as it was unveiled in the book of Revelation.

(gg.) This fresco is badly damaged, but it is possible to see a representation based upon, but not exactly following, the vision described in Rev. v.

In the upper part of the picture is an almond-shaped aureole, enclosing a throne on which lies the Divine Child. At the sides of the aureole are circular glories, enclosing the four living things—the angel of St. Matthew and the eagle of St. John above, the bull of St. Luke and the lion of St. Mark below, each having a nimbus.

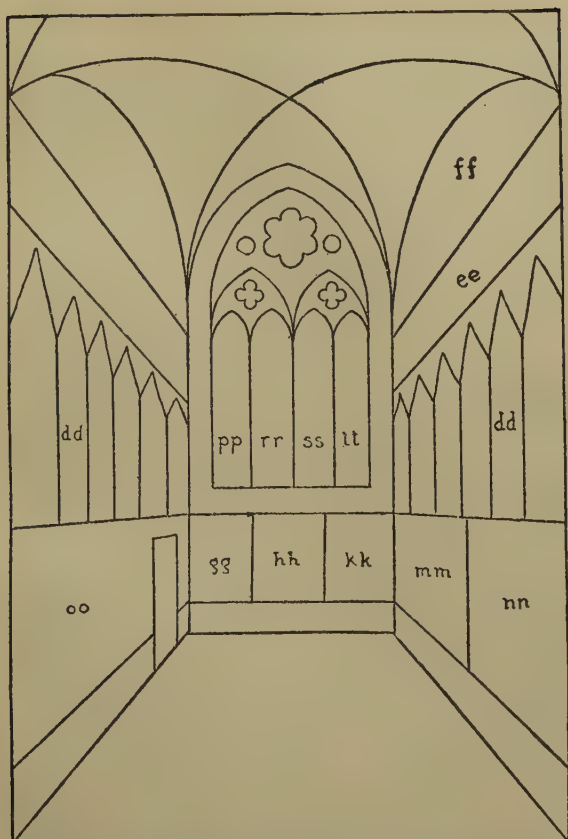
In two long lines converging towards the centre of the picture are the twenty-four Elders, each wearing a crown, and in some cases it is possible to make out their harps. Where these two lines meet are two vessels, “the two golden phials full of odours, which are the prayers of the saints.” Behind each of the lines of elders are grouped saints and angels. The Lamb has been found worthy to open the book, and the four and twenty elders sing their new song of praise. Judgment is set, and the seals are about to be opened. The method of representing the Child is unusual.

(hh.) This fresco is very much destroyed. It probably represents the scene immediately preceding the sealing of the servants of God. Four angels stand outside the walls of a

city. They are the four angels standing on the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds, who receive the command to hurt nothing until the sealing of the hundred and forty-four thousand has been finished.

(kk.) The Seven Angels preparing to sound the Seven Trumpets. In the upper part of the picture Christ sits in an almond-shaped aureole. He shows the wounds of the Passion. To the right are three angels with trumpets, and to the left there are four. In the lowest part of the picture there are a number of saints kneeling in adoration, the principal figure of the group to the left being a Franciscan. In the centre is an altar; at the side an angel floats in the air, probably he who had the golden censer, having incense which he offers "with the prayers of all the saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne" (Rev. viii. 3).

(mm.) Probably the Fall of Babylon. The city has "become the habitation of devils and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird" (Rev. xviii. 2).



Plan V.—Northern Transept of the Upper Church of San Francesco, Assisi

(nn.) Another scene from the Apocalypse, almost entirely destroyed.

(oo.) The wall to the left is covered with a large picture of the Crucifixion. In spite of its ruinous state, there is a great air about this fresco. It gives a sense of strength and power, and it must in its original state have been one of the most striking of the whole series of works in the upper church. The figure on the cross has the feet divided; the waist cloth is ample, and seems to flutter in the breeze. There is some attempt to realize the anatomy of the body, with the unpleasant result often seen in early pictures. The eyes appear to be closed. Angels fly through the air as in the picture in the southern transept. At the foot of the cross, to the left, there is a woman who throws herself into an attitude of wild despair, while another figure gathers his robes about him and stretches out his arm with the air of a Roman orator. The group of women are well placed, and they have a good effect.

Roof of the Upper Church

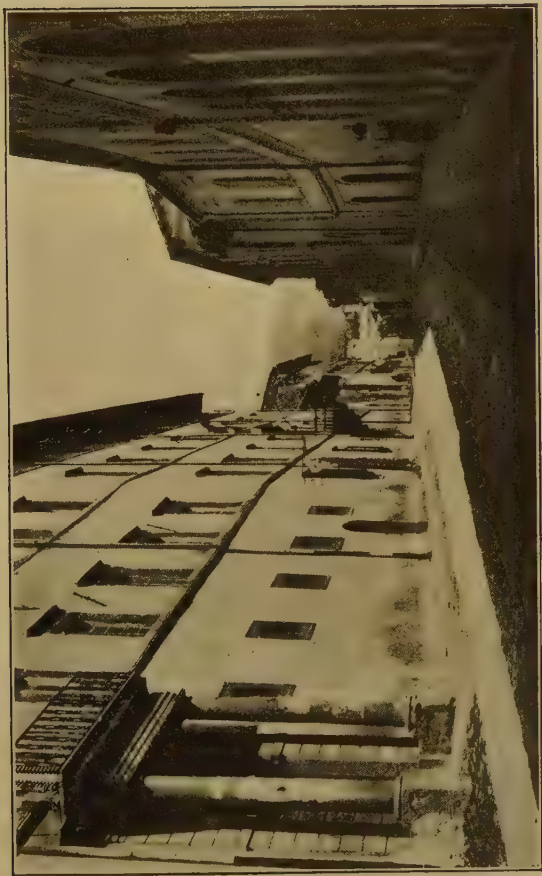
The main design on the roof of the upper church is that in the *second bay from the*

transept, where half-length pictures of Christ, St. Francis, Madonna, and St. John the Baptist occupy the triangular spaces of the groining. The spaces in the corners are filled by angels, with outstretched wings, standing on globes. They have carefully braided hair, and inexpressive faces; their robes are jewelled. The principal figures have a certain stolid and fixed expression. The whole design shows the power which old tradition had upon the painter.

The frescoes of the four Evangelists, painted on the *vault over the crossing*, belong to the native school of art, which had broken away from the old tradition without gaining facility or power in any other direction. Each Evangelist has a writing-table, he is attended by the usual symbol, and an angel inspires him for his task. The church architecture affords some interesting detail. The style has points of likeness with that of the Apocalyptic paintings in the northern transept. Each Evangelist is associated with some special part of the world, St. Matthew with Judea, St. Mark with Italy, St. Luke with Achaia, and St. John with Asia.

On *the vault at the west end of the nave* the four doctors of the Latin Church are painted. St. Gregory is inspired by the Dove on his shoulder, and a monk sits opposite who writes to his dictation. The other doctors have books before them and an attendant monk sits opposite, the latter little more than half the size of the former. The doctors are enthroned on massive chairs, the attendants sit in a loggia, and between is a reading-desk. The accessories are elaborate, the furniture being decorated in the style of Cosmati mosaic. Everything indeed is done to increase the impressiveness and dignity of the figures. These four men embody the weight and authority of the Catholic Church, they personify the unbending and unyielding spirit of dogma.

Between the last bay of the nave and the western wall of the façade of the upper church there is a small bay covered with an ordinary arch. On it are painted sixteen figures, among which may be recognized those of St. Francis, Sta. Chiara, SS. Dominic and Peter Martyr, the Bishop, S. Rufino, S. Antonio of Padua, and St. Benedict. They are



MIDDAY IN ASSISI

stiff, ascetic forms, representing the religious idea in a state of equilibrium. Though they are thus very far from suggesting the mendicant ideal, they have a distinct character expressing well the rule of ecclesiastical authority.

Windows — Upper Church

Many of the windows in the upper church have fine glass in them. Parts of those in the choir and transepts are said to date from the thirteenth century, those in the nave belong either to the fourteenth or fifteenth; there are also modern restorations.

The windows in the choir and transepts may be considered together.

(pp.) *Northern transept* — Creation of the World.

(rr.) *Northern transept* — History of Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel.

(k.) To the right in the *choir* — Life of Christ, from the Meeting with the Doctors, up to the Betrayal.

(m.) To the left in the *choir* — Life of Christ from the Bearing of the Cross, to the Descent of the Holy Spirit.

(bb.) *Southern transept* — Manifestations of Christ between the Resurrection and Ascension. In the windows where the life of Christ is treated the other half of the window has scenes from the Old Testament, supposed to be typical of the event in the New Testament. The Descent of the Holy Spirit has opposite to it Moses Descending from Mount Sinai; the Resurrection, and Jonah cast up by the Whale; Christ Bearing the Cross, and Abraham Taking Isaac to the Sacrifice; the Last Supper, and the Passover; the Transfiguration, and Moses with his face shining as he came from receiving the law; the Baptism of Christ, and the Crossing of the Red Sea, are other examples of this parallelism.

In this way the whole history from the Creation of the World is worked out — ending with an epitome of the Last Judgment, in the design above the light in the window of the southern transept. The window on the New Testament wall of the nave nearest the choir has scenes from the story of the Magi, the Slaughter of the Innocents, the Presentation, and the rods laid on the altar. The design at the bottom of the third window from the choir

on the same side is to be remarked for the relation between Christ and St. Francis and Madonna and Child. The fourth window from the choir on the Old Testament side of the nave has a series of scenes from the history of St. Francis.

CHAPTER V

THE LIFE OF ST. FRANCIS — CONFORMITY TO THAT OF CHRIST

HIS disciples regarded the life of St. Francis as the most complete reflection that we have been permitted to know of the life which Christ led upon earth. The following instances where the parallel has been drawn may be noted; others will occur to those who keep this phase of the Franciscan ideal in mind.

1. *Above the entrance door of the lower church* the arches are filled with panels. On one is carved the Ascension of Christ with a group of disciples below, on the other there is the Ascension of St. Francis with a like group of disciples.

2. The pictures *on the nave walls of the lower church* were probably intended to point to the



ENTRANCE TO LOWER CHURCH OF S. FRANCESCO

parallel between the two lives. On the right as we face the high altar there appear to be scenes from the Crucifixion, the Deposition, and the Entombment of Christ. On the left St. Francis renounces the world; is seen in a vision supporting the Church; preaches to the birds; receives the stigmata; and is buried.

3. *In the northern transept of the lower church* the Crucifixion (No. 16) has opposite to it St. Francis receiving the stigmata, the intention being to suggest the parallel between the Passion of Christ and the Passion of St. Francis on Monte della Verna.

4. In the central group on the *roof of the upper church* Christ is painted with St. Francis opposite, and at the sides are Madonna and St. John the Baptist.

5. The lower church had originally only three altars: the high altar dedicated in the name of St. Francis, whose bones rest beneath it; that to the right, in the southern transept, dedicated in the name of Maria Virgine Immacolata, and that to the left in the name of St. John the Evangelist. If the church be considered as the cross, then the relative position of the altars suggests that St. Francis takes

the place of Christ, while Madonna and St. John the Evangelist stand at the foot of the cross as usual.

6. *Over the high altar in the lower church* Christ presides over the marriage of St. Francis with the Holy Lady Poverty. Poverty, the spouse of Christ, was widowed at His death on the cross, and now she becomes the spouse of St. Francis.

Nave of the Upper Church

The distinctively Franciscan pictures are included in the following series and in the four great frescoes over the high altar in the lower church.

The life of St. Francis, as painted in the upper church, begins with the history of the saint after his soul had been touched by the love of God, but before he had denied the world. This series of frescoes is a summing up of the intention of the whole monument. We have seen how God deals with men; we have seen the description of the life of Christ, by means of which men entered into their true relation with the divine; we have seen

how by lives of faith, of renunciation, and of love, men have striven to unite the world in the new ideal. The final result of human effort is summed up in the life of St. Francis, who was, in the words of his disciples, the Mirror of Perfection.

It must be confessed that we see "the little poor man of Assisi" dimly in the magnificence of this building. These pictures describe the outward and visible life of one of the two princes ordained for the guidance of the Church (*Par.* xi. 35-36). We seem to breathe the air of the papal court rather than that of the Umbrian valleys.

The following account is derived mainly from Bonaventura's *Life of Saint Francis*.

PLAN II (p. 78)

(a 1.) A man of simple mind meets Francis and two of his companions. The poor man having an instinctive insight into the holiness of the youth, spreads his cloak on the ground. Francis steps on it and looks at him who offers the service with a gracious air; his two companions are pleased with the honour done to

their friend, while two elder men wonder at what they regard as the presumption of a young man in accepting such a distinction. These emotions are rendered in the simplest and most natural way. The details of the figures, such as the hands and draperies, show how much had still to be learned.

The scene is laid in the Piazza Grande. The Temple of Minerva is curiously translated in terms of Gothic feeling: at one side of it is a church with pointed windows and a campanile of the usual kind, and at the other a house with a series of open balconies.

(b 2.) Francis gives his cloak to a poor nobleman. Through the love of God Francis has learned to love his neighbour. He has been touched by the world-weary and downcast air of the poor nobleman, and with courtly benevolence he gives his cloak to him.

High on the hill to the right is a church and monastery, and opposite are the towers of a little hill city. The horse from which Francis has dismounted is badly drawn, but the natural way in which it turns to graze at the wayside marks a new feeling.

(c 3.) The Vision of the Palace. The sleep-

ing Francis saw the vision of a great palace covered with banners and decorations bearing the cognizance of the cross. Christ appeared to him, and, in answer to the query as to the object of the palace, said, it is "for thee and thy warriors."

Francis understood this as a call to knightly duty, and set out to serve a great count in Apulia. On the way he had another vision, in which God spoke to him, saying, "Francis, who can make thee into the best knight — the master or the servant?" Francis replied, "The master." "Then," the Lord said, "why dost thou leave the master for the servant?" Francis answered, "What wilt thou that I should do, O my Lord?" In reply he was bidden to return to his home, and was taught the spiritual signification of the vision of the palace.

The lower part of the palace is built with pillar, lintel and round arches, the upper part is in Gothic style, representing the change which was taking place during the thirteenth century.

(d 4.) Francis, while praying in S. Damiano, hears the words come from the crucified

figure on the cross, "Go, Francis, and repair My Church." Francis kneels in a loggia opening into the building. Believing that the command was concerned with the material fabric of the church, he took some of his father's cloth and sold it at Foligno, so that he might have the means to repair S. Damiano.

(e 5.) Francis renounces his family and his earthly inheritance. His father, greatly incensed with his son, haled him before the bishop. Francis, hearing his father coming, said, "Father, I am not afraid if you beat me or imprison me; I am content to endure affliction and suffering, because I deserve it for my sins." When they appeared before the bishop, so that he might renounce his mother's inheritance as his father desired, he humbly took off all his clothes but his under-garment. He threw them to his father, and renounced every temporal inheritance, whether of father or mother, saying, "Now I can say, *Pater Noster qui es in coelis.*" The bishop, seeing so much warmth of spirit, took him to his arms, and covered him with the folds of his mantle. And Francis took a poor garment from one of the bishop's labourers, and so he was clothed.

St. Francis stands covered by the bishop's robe — in the attitude of prayer, which is answered by the appearance of a hand in the sky.

As the brethren grew in numbers, Francis wrote a form of living in simple words, founding it in everything on the observance of the Gospel. When the brethren desired the confirmation of this writing, and yet were afraid, Francis saw in a vision a great tree, and he was raised up so that he might touch the top. It bowed its topmost branches, and thus was shown the condescension of the Apostolic See. So Francis and the brethren went to Rome and to the Lateran to present their petition. But the Pope was busy, and they were driven away. That night the Pope saw a vision of a palm branch that grew into a mighty tree, and divine wisdom showed him that this was the poor man who had been refused. Then Francis was sought out, and brought before the Pope, and some of the cardinals doubted by reason of the strictness of the rule. One of them, however, moved by the Holy Spirit, declared it was naught more than the Gospel. Then the Pope bade Francis pray that God would

show them His will, and he so spake that the Pope knew that Christ spoke in him. That night the Pope had another vision, in which he saw the Church of St. John Lateran about to fall, and a little man came and put his back under it, whereby the Pope saw that it was this same poor man who, by teaching of holy deeds and doctrine, should sustain the Church, and therefore he gave his approbation to the rule.

This story is told in the frescoes, Nos. f 6 and g 7. St. Francis upholding the Church in f 6, is very remarkable; the figure stands out as the finest example of the new manner in the upper church. But it is g 7 which strikes the full note of the coming change in the world.

We see on the one hand the Pope, the cardinals, the bishops, the hierarchy of the Church; on the other, a group of poor men kneeling humbly, and asking for nothing but to be allowed to live by the rule of the Gospel. Such is the outward seeming, but the kneeling figure of Francis offering his simple words, is the embodiment of the spirit of individualism in opposition to the organized system of the Church. Men were no longer content to ap-

proach the truth through other men, even though they might be bishops or popes. The spirit within each man must approach the Divine Spirit for itself, and so at a later time, when sore pressed by ecclesiastical authority, St. Francis refused to accept any rule other than "that which had been mercifully shown and given" to him "by the Lord." The painter has recognized this true source of spiritual strength, inasmuch as while the great churchmen have but the insignia of their office, Francis has the nimbus of divine power.

(h 8.) St. Francis and the Car of Fire. When the brethren were living at Rivo Torto, Francis went to Assisi on a certain Saturday, so that he might preach on the next day in the Duomo. At night, when some of the brethren were asleep and others awake, they saw a car of fire, which passed three times through the house. Inspired by God, they knew that the chariot was their father Francis, and they perceived that the vision was granted to show that he was the chariot which they ought to follow as if he had been another Elias.

(j 9.) The Throne in Heaven reserved for St. Francis. St. Francis and Brother Pacifico

being in the deserted Church of St. Peter at Bovara, near Trevi, St. Francis sent the brother to the leper hospital, and he himself spent the night in the church, where he was sorely tempted. In the morning he was praying when Pacifico returned, and to this latter there was granted a vision of the thrones in heaven.

It was told him that the highest had been the place of Lucifer, and that in his stead the humble Francis should sit in it. When Brother Pacifico thereafter asked Francis of himself, he declared that he was the greatest sinner in the world, and so Pacifico saw that his vision was true, and that Francis, by reason of his humility, was worthy to sit on the throne of Lucifer (*Mirror of Perfection*, p. 60).

(k 10.) The Devils driven away from Arezzo. Francis, coming to Arezzo, found commotion and combat among the citizens, and he saw above the city a multitude of demons who were in great joy. Francis, knowing by the Spirit that they were the cause of the trouble in the city, ordered Brother Silvestro that he should command these devils in the name of God so that immediately, by virtue of obedi-

ence, they should depart. And Brother Silvestro, going with great fervour and doing obedience to the blessed Francis, the devils at once departed and the city was pacified. Francis, finding all in peace and concord, praised God that by virtue of holy humility and obedience, Brother Silvestro had chased away so great malignity of pride.

(111.) St. Francis before the Sultan. Francis, moved by the desire he had to shed his blood for the increase of faith, went into Syria and travelled to the country of the Sultan of Babylon. When brought before the Sultan and questioned as to his business, Francis answered, "I am sent by God the Most High, and not by any man of this world, so that I can show to thee and thy people the way of salvation and tell to thee the truth of the gospel of Christ." He preached with so much constancy of mind, strength of soul, and fervour of spirit, that the Sultan had him in great favour, and desired him to stay in the country. Francis said to the Sultan, "If thou doubt of leaving the faith of Mahomet for that of Christ, command that a fire be lit so that thy priests and I may enter it, and according to who is kept safe be-

lieve thou in that faith." The Sultan, seeing one of his priests in flight, declared that they would not enter. Francis then offered to go into it by himself; if he was saved it would be proof of the truth of the religion of Christ, and if he were burned it would be for his sins. But for fear of the people the Sultan would not consent, and so Francis, having refused all gifts, returned to Christendom.

The Sultan is magnificent, as one who stands above and beyond the rival creeds. The two Moslem priests have strong impressive faces; they are moved neither by the spiritual appeal nor the physical terror.

(m 12.) St. Francis in Communion with God. St. Francis is raised from the earth and rests on a cloud. He contemplates God face to face as Moses of old. His arms are stretched out widely as if to embrace the vision which appears in the sky and blesses him. A group of brethren below see the vision, but only with a sense of alarmed curiosity.

(n 13.) The Presepio at Greggio. In order to move the people to devotion and bring to mind the nativity of Christ, Francis ordered (after license from the Pope) that with great

solemnity they should bring a manger, with an ox and ass, into the church. Many of the brethren and good women were there, and many lights were lit, and there was much singing of holy songs. The man of God stood near the manger, full of tenderness, weeping tears of devotion and piety, and mass was celebrated. Then Francis sang the gospel and preached of the Nativity, and it was affirmed that at that point a sleeping child was seen in his arms. And the hay which was in the manger had much virtue in curing the sick.

(O 14.) The Miraculous Spring of Water. When Francis was going to spend the forty days of St. Michael on the Monte della Vernia, being weakened by watching and by strife with devils, he borrowed a small ass. While they were on the way the countryman to whom it belonged was thirsty. Francis dismounted and, kneeling down, prayed and bade the countryman to go to a certain spot, where he found water though none had been there before, nor has it been seen since. So the countryman drank, and they thanked God for the miracle. Vasari singles out this scene and says that so natural is the man who drinks

that one might believe him to be a living person.

Passing by the great western doors we come to the following:—

(p 15.) St. Francis preaching to the Birds. It is told that on the way to Bevagna he saw many birds, and he bade his companions wait while he went and preached to them. “My sister birds,” said he, “you should be much bound to God, your Creator, and you should always, in every place, praise Him, for He has given you liberty to fly, and vestments double and triple, and has preserved your seed in the ark of Noah, and also He keeps you in the air, which He has made for you, and besides this He feeds you and gives you the fountains and rivers to drink from, and valleys for your refuge. And because ye do not know how to spin and sew, God clothes you, therefore keep yourselves, my sisters, from the sin of ingratitude.” When Francis made the sign of the cross, the birds rose up and spread themselves to the four quarters of the world, to signify that the preaching of the cross should spread everywhere. Francis was drawing a picture of his own ideal in the free life of the birds,



GIOTTO. — ST. FRANCIS PREACHING TO THE BIRDS

devoid of care and devoted to the praise of God, and the artist seems to have been moved by the picture of natural beauty that he was set to paint.

(q 16.) The Death of the Lord of Celano. Francis and his companions having been received with joyfulness, the lord of the house was called to one side and bidden to confess and give thanks to God for all His mercies; so giving heed, he put his house in order, and made ready to receive death. Afterwards they sat down to meat, and while eating the lord of Celano passed from this life; and thus it was shown how God holds dear those who receive His servants.

(r 17.) St. Francis preaches before Honorius III. In order to please the Cardinal Ugolino, Francis made ready a sermon very diligently, but when he began to preach the thing went from him, and confessing what had happened, he prayed to the Holy Spirit, and at once there was given to him understanding, and he spoke with so much power that the Pope and cardinals were moved. It is also said that so great was his fervour of spirit that he moved his feet as one who dances — not for

amusement but as overcome by divine joy.

The Pope sits in a fine Gothic church, with detail suitable to the period. He is not the old man that Honorius really was, but a strong vigorous personality in the full exercise of powerful capacities. The churchmen listen with an air of puzzled doubt; they are fearful of what may come of this new doctrine.

(s 18.) St. Francis appears at a Chapter held at Arles. At the provincial chapters, though Francis could not be there in body, he was ever with the brethren in spirit, and even sometimes in presence. At Arles, when Anthony preached of the cross, it was given to Brother Monaldo to see Francis in the air with his arms spread out in the form of a cross.

(t 19.) St. Francis receives the Stigmata. Francis had the habit of never being idle; like the angels he was always ascending or descending, ascending in contemplation to God or descending in love to his neighbour. He divided his energies between the active and contemplative life, and so two years before he died he went to keep the fast of St. Michael on the Monte della Vernia.

On the day of the exaltation of the cross Francis saw a seraph with six shining wings descend from heaven. As he looked at it he saw between the wings the likeness of a crucified man. Then he was sealed with the sign of the wounds. Knowing that there could be no affinity between the immortality of the seraph and the infirmity of the passion, he recognized that as he had always borne Christ and His Passion in his heart and also in his deeds, so he must be transformed into Christ not through martyrdom of the flesh but by the ardour of his soul and of his mind. Thus when the vision left him he was filled with the fervour of the love of Christ, and on his body was the mark of the wounds of Christ.

(u 20.) The Death of St. Francis. Francis, knowing of the day of his death, desired to be carried down to Sta. Maria degli Angeli. Having taken off his clothes he lay down on the ground, and, with his face turned to heaven, he said, "I have done that which I had to do; may our Lord Jesus teach you so that you may be strong in His love and service." He thanked God that as Christ had been naked on the Cross so he at his end was

poor and naked. When the hour of his death had come he bade his brethren that they should observe patience and poverty and the faith of the Holy Roman Church, and, above all things, the Holy Gospel. He blessed them, saying, "To God I commend you all, that you may obey and fear Him, that you may be strong in temptation, and constant in virtue, and do what is just to your neighbours." When they had read from the Gospel and from the Psalms, that most holy soul left the body and was received into the light of eternal life.

The dead man is surrounded by his sorrowing brethren, and in the background the clergy are collected ready to perform the usual rites. In the sky there is the soul of Francis pictured as a youth borne to heaven in an aureole of light, and supported by four angels; other angels to right and left attend them. The picture is a good deal damaged, but it shows that the painter had overcome many of the technical difficulties that beset the artists of the early fourteenth century.

(v 21.) The Vision of the Bishop of Assisi and of Brother Agostino. The bishop having gone on a pilgrimage to Monte Gargano, Fran-

cis appeared to him as he slept at Beneventum, and said, "I leave the world and go to heaven with great joy." When he returned to Assisi the bishop knew that the time of his vision was the same as that at which Francis had passed from this life. At the same time a certain Brother Agostino, who had been lying waiting for death, and without power of speech, suddenly rose up crying, "Wait, father, wait. Behold, I come with thee."

(w 22.) The Verification of the Stigmata. In the upper part of the fresco are pictures resting on a beam in the church wherein the scene is laid. To the left, Madonna and Child; in the centre, a crucifix, and to the right, an angel. Below lies the body of St. Francis, the service for the dead is being read, and in the background are a number of clergy and lay people, for many came to see and be assured of the miracle of the stigmata. Among these was a noble knight full of doubt even like the Apostle Thomas. And when he had seen and moved the nails with his hand, and also the wound in the side, in the presence of many seculars and religious, they were all certain of that of which they were in doubt.

(x 23.) Sta. Chiara salutes the dead Francis as the procession passes by S. Damiano.

On the morning after Francis died a great crowd from the city and the country came, and with great solemnity of canticles and hymns, and the divine office and a multitude of torches and candles, they carried the body to Assisi. When they came to S. Damiano, Chiara and her holy sisters were consoled by seeing and kissing the holy body of their father Francis, ornamented with the holy stigmata, and clear and shining.

(y 24.) Canonization of St. Francis. Pope Gregory IX., having heard of the many miracles done by Francis throughout his life and after his death, took counsel whether to canonize the body or no. He sent certain cardinals to search out the miracles whether they were true, and they having found that these things were so, the Pope came with great solemnity to Assisi, and on the eighth day before the Kalends of June, 1228, the most holy body of the saint was canonized. This fresco is very much damaged.

(z 25.) The Doubt of Pope Gregory is resolved. Pope Gregory IX. (the Cardinal

Ugolino) having canonized St. Francis, was still in doubt about the stigmata. Whence one night there appeared to him St. Francis with a severe countenance showing anger, and he reproved Gregory for the hardness of his heart. Lifting up his arm he showed the wound, and when St. Francis had gathered the blood from it in a phial he passed out of sight. And by this the Pope had no more doubt.

(aa 26.) A certain woman greatly devoted to St. Francis died with some sin unconfessed. Suddenly, when her kinsfolk and the priest were watching, she rose up and told them that St. Francis had obtained grace for her, that the soul might return to the body until she had confessed. So it was, that after confession her body fell dead, as before, and her soul was freed from great punishment.

(bb 27.) A certain man, Giovanni, was wounded so sorely that the doctor could do nothing for him, and when there was no more hope St. Francis appeared and said, "Because of thy faith in the Virgin Mary and me, God wills that thou shouldst be freed from this evil." St. Francis touched the wounds with

the hands which bore the mark of the stigmata, and they were healed.

(cc 28.) A certain Peter having been condemned for heresy was given to the keeping of the Bishop of Tivoli. Peter having laid down every error and prayed to St. Francis, the latter appeared to him in prison. The chains fell from the prisoner's limbs, and the door was opened. When the bishop told the cardinals and the Pope what had happened, they praised God and the blessed St. Francis, and let the man go.

CHAPTER VI

S. FRANCESCO — THE LOWER CHURCH — LIFE OF CHRIST — THE FOUR ALLEGORICAL FRESCOES

PASSING now to the *transepts of the lower church*, we find the history of the life of Christ. These paintings may be regarded as an illustration of the Creed.

Dante (*Par.* vii. 79-120), writing perhaps a few years later than the time when these frescoes were painted, explains how the Incarnation was the highest manifestation of the justice and mercy of God. Man had been disfranchised by sin. In two ways it was possible that his lost dignity might be recovered. God might grant a free pardon, or man could make satisfaction. But, in the first case, justice would not have been done, for goodness would not have been made to refill that which sin had emptied. In the second, it was impossible for man to make satisfaction, inasmuch as he

could never fall so low in humility as he had striven to rise in pride. The Incarnation answers all the ends of justice, for goodness takes the place of evil. It also is the highest evidence of mercy, for in no other way could God so fully show His love as by giving Himself, so that in His person man might make satisfaction.

It was the loving self-sacrifice, the poverty, the renunciation, the suffering, and the submission to the divine will exhibited in this life, that St. Francis tried to make the rule of his own life.

PLAN VI (p. 126)

No. 1 is an Annunciation.

No. 2, Salutation, is a characteristic piece of early fourteenth century Florentine design. There is a fine sense of a mountain country in the background. The two women meet with a quiet joy; each knows the destiny of the other, and the deference of the older woman for the younger is rendered in simple and yet subtle fashion. The servants carrying the little necessities for the way mark the growing taste



GIOTTO. — SALUTATION

for expressing thought and emotion in term of common life.

No 3 represents the Nativity. Madonna looks tenderly at the swaddled babe in her arms. The usual Byzantine design puts the babe in the manger, and leaves the mother unconcerned. The ox and the ass have an expression of lively interest in the child, and overhead two choirs of six angels float in adoration and prayer. Rays of divine power come down from heaven and rest on the child. Over the roof of the shed other choirs of angels see the star, and one of them flies down and announces the birth to the shepherds. In the foreground the Byzantine tradition of the washing of the babe is followed. Joseph sits at the extreme left resting his head on his hand. There is a note of naturalism throughout.

No. 4 depicts the Presentation. This is one of the most famous of these frescoes. The temple is an elaborate Gothic church decorated with mosaic in the Cosmati style. Every figure in the picture, young and old, takes its part in expressing the mystery, by which the thoughts out of many hearts were



Plan VI.—Southern Transept of the Lower Church of San
Francesco, Assisi



TADDEO GADDI. — CHRIST AMONG THE DOCTORS

to be revealed, and yet no picture in Italian art is more remarkable for the simple rendering of maternal affection.

No. 5 shows the Adoration of the Magi. The mother and child sit in an open loggia; they are attended by two nimbed figures. The older of the three kings kneels and receives the blessing of the child, the other two kings look on at some distance; all three are nimbed. Their long journey is suggested by the heads of two camels which appear at one side of the picture.

No. 6, the Flight into Egypt, is a striking desert landscape. Joseph has something of the air and bearing of an ancient Roman. An angel in the sky shows the way.

No. 7. Slaughter of the Innocents. Herod, in his impassive attitude, is the strong feature of this picture. The action is extravagant and the intensity of suffering is poorly rendered.

No. 8 shows Christ among the Doctors. This is an impressive design. The child seated in the centre in calm rule draws the attention and holds it. The scene is in a Gothic church with side chapels. Joseph and

Mary enter to the left, and hold up their hands in wonder as they see their son teaching with authority among the patriarchs of the nation.

In No. 9 Christ goes with his Parents. Jerusalem is painted as a fourteenth century city. Mary and Joseph pass out into the country. Christ has become the child again; he looks up at Joseph with confidence and just touches the sleeve of his robe.

The life of Christ is continued in the Passion scenes *in the northern transept*. The frescoes are usually attributed to the Sienese school, and the name of Pietro Lorenzetti (died 1348) is connected with them.

PLAN VII (p. 132)

No. 10 shows the Entry into Jerusalem. The twelve Apostles headed by St. Peter follow Christ; they are met by the crowd at the gate of the city. Boys throw olive branches in the way.

No. 11 is the Last Supper. The meal is eaten at a circular table, and Judas cannot

therefore sit on the outer side. He is distinguished by having no nimbus.

No. 12. The Washing of the Feet. St. Peter puts his hand to his head, saying, "Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head." The Apostles are not so dignified as in the scene of the entry into Jerusalem.

No. 13, the Betrayal, has not a noble figure in the whole composition. The sense of degradation could hardly be more complete than that conveyed by the flight of the Apostles. It is no band of regular soldiers, but rather a mob that enters the garden. The face of Judas has some quality in it, but that of Christ is not only unseemly, it is ignoble, and the Apostle who stands in the lower right-hand corner is of the most vulgar type.

No. 14. The Flagellation. This scene takes place before Pilate. To the right a group of Pharisees look on with a satisfied air. The central figure is miserably inadequate. There is no attempt made to render a dignified bearing under degradation and suffering, and the expression even of physical pain fails.

No. 15. Christ is led to Calvary. Again the central figure is mean and cringing. Distortion of face takes the place of a dignified expression of emotion. The two thieves walk in advance of Christ.

No. 16. An immense Crucifixion occupies one side of the transept. The fresco has been damaged, the central foreground having been cut away. The scene is treated historically and not symbolically. The figure of Christ on the cross shows an advance in power of rendering the human frame as compared with the Crucifixions in the transepts of the upper church. The countenance is strong and expressive. The two thieves are also competently rendered. There is an immense crowd of bystanders, mainly Roman soldiers; they add nothing either to the character or beauty of the picture. In the foreground, to the right, the group of women support the swooning mother, and St. John looks on in helpless misery. The scene indeed is treated as one of human suffering; even the angels who fly round the cross express bitterness and tribulation in commonplace demonstrations of sorrow, proper to trivial



Plan VII. — Northern Transept of the Lower Church of
San Francesco, Assisi

rather than to deep and significant emotion.

The new attitude towards life presents its

weaker side to us. Christ ceased to be a more or less abstract representation of the divine majesty. He was realized as the Man of Sorrows. At the same time the teaching of St. Bernard and St. Francis had quickened the emotions of men; the love of God became an active principle working on the feelings rather than on the intelligence of mankind. Hence we find a tendency to exaggerate the emotional aspect of the mysteries of man's being at the expense of the wider and deeper significance of things.

No. 17. The Deposition from the Cross. A study of human emotion which conveys no effective sense of the scene. The purely physical phenomenon has blinded the eyes of the onlookers to the underlying fact that death is about to be swallowed up in victory. The action of the one who draws out the nail from the feet is trivial.

No. 18 shows the Entombment. The same seven persons who appear in the Deposition take part in the Entombment.

No. 19, the Descent into Hades, is much damaged.

No. 20. The Resurrection. Once more

the central figure is the least satisfactory. Christ rises out of the tomb bearing the cross of victory, five angels on each side greet Him. Around the tomb lie the soldiers on guard; they are fine figures, and their sleep is rendered naturally.

*Pictures in the Transepts not belonging to
the Series of the Life of Christ*

PLAN VI (p. 126)

No. 21. In the southern transept. This picture of the Crucifixion is symbolical; it is not intended to represent the event as it happened. There are no thieves, and on the right side of the cross St. Francis kneels with two of his brethren. St. Mary Magdalene embraces the feet of Christ. To the left Mary falls in a swoon. There is a notable group of Jews to the right of the picture. A small medallion in the frame at the top has a figure of the pelican, in reference to Ps. cii. 6. One of the popular stories about this bird was, that the young strike their father and he kills them; then the mother pierces her breast, and the blood which flows from it brings the

young birds to life again. "If this be true," says Augustine, "see how it agreeth with Him who gave us life by His blood." At the bottom of the picture is a similar little painting of the lion licking its cubs, in reference to the story that the cubs were born dead, and were brought to life after three days by the father licking them. In this, was seen a type of the Resurrection after the three days in the tomb.

No. 22, *Madonnà and Child with Angels and St. Francis*, is a famous picture and has traditionally been assigned to Cimabue.

It represents the transition from Byzantine to Florentine ideals. The celestial powers reveal to man the Divine Child. The grand sweep of the angels' wings, the graceful inclination of their forms and the reverent graciousness of their expression strike the active note in the picture. Madonna is passive; she has lost the abstract quality of the mother of God, and has not gained the natural quality of the mother of a human child. The heavily coiled hair of the angels, the veil and robe of the Madonna, and many other details, show the effect of the Byzantine tradition.



CIMABUE. — MADONNA

The ordered magnificence of the throne, the rich hangings, and the splendour of the celestial spirits are in strange contrast to St. Francis, the humble follower of holy poverty, who stands at the right of the picture. The insignificant figure of the "little poor man of Assisi," standing apart as it does from the general design, does not at first suggest the doctors and saints of fifteenth and sixteenth century altar-pieces, and yet it may be regarded as an early example of such schemes. This picture is one of the most interesting in the whole range of Italian art. To the student of style it marks with peculiar delicacy the change of manner; to those who study the mind of the thirteenth century it is full of suggestion; to all it remains one of the most lovely creations of human genius.

No. 23 is a series of eight half-lengths. To the right are Madonna and Child, with a king on the one side and a queen on the other — probably St. Louis and St. Catherine of Alexandria. To the extreme left is St. Francis, and between these the frescoes probably represent St. John the Evangelist, Sta. Chiara,

St. Elizabeth of Hungary, and St. Louis the Archbishop. St. Louis the King was the patron of the Brothers, and St. Elizabeth of Hungary was the patroness of the Sisters of the Third Order. The work has been attributed to Simone Martini of Siena (1285?-1344). A comparison with the details of the Chapel of St. Martin will show that both series may well be the work of one man. These half-lengths are charming and peculiarly characteristic works of the Sienese school at its best, and as they are close to the scenes of the "Nativity" and "Presentation," and other Florentine works of the same period and of equally fine quality, there is an opportunity for the traveller to compare the two great branches of Tuscan art at its most interesting period.

Nos. 24 and 25 probably refer to the story of a miracle worked in the city of Suessa. A house fell and killed a boy. The people raised the body from among the ruins, and the mother, who had faith in St. Francis, began to cry, "St. Francis, I pray thee give me back my son alive, and I will cover thy altar with new cloth." And thus they remained



GIOTTO. — ST. FRANCIS RESTORING A BOY TO LIFE

till midnight, when the boy arose and " began to praise God and St. Francis."

No. 24 shows how the people recovered the body from the ruins of the fallen house. The figure of a man standing with his finger touching his chin is supposed to be a portrait of Giotto.

In No. 25 the clergy and people have gathered for the funeral. In an open loggia, in the upper part of the picture, St. Francis descends from the sky, and, taking the boy by the hand, brings him to life.

No. 26 shows St. Francis and a skeleton. This life and its accidents were to the mind of St. Francis of little importance. Death comes to all men alike — to the king, whose crowned skeleton mocks his earthly greatness, and to the common man. It becomes, therefore, a symbol of the equality of all men in the sight of God. We are in presence of the two obligations of humanity. St. Francis stands for that which ought to be the common lot, the life of holy poverty, the ideal of the perfection of Christ. Death comes as the common lot by which all may pass from the shadows of this life to the realities of the next.

No. 27. Resurrection of a Child. A mother desiring to go to church left a child, seven years of age, shut up in her house. It fell from a window and died. The mother on her return began to weep, so that a crowd was gathered. A certain Brother Rano asking the father of the child whether he believed in St. Francis, the father answered, Yes; and if he (St. Francis) would do him the grace to revive the child he would ever be his devout servant. Then the whole company began to pray, and the child rose to life.

No. 28. Over the door from the south transept into the monastery there is a fresco of Christ. To correspond with it there is a similar fresco of St. Francis (No. 30) over the door from the northern transept.

PLAN VII (p. 132)

In No. 29 St. Francis receives the stigmata. This fresco has been attributed to Giotto. Its position opposite the great Crucifixion (No. 16) suggests the parallel which has been frequently noted. Monte della Vernia in the Casentino having been given

to the brethren for a place of prayer, Francis, with the brothers Masseo, Angelo, and Leo, went from Sta. Maria degli Angeli to spend the feast of St. Michael there in the year 1224. On the mountain they dwelt under a beech-tree, and one day when Francis marvelled how the rocks were fissured, it was shown to him that they had been miraculously rent asunder at the time of Christ's Passion. He therefore perceived that it was here that the Passion was to be renewed, in his soul by love and compassion, and in his body by the marks of the holy stigmata. After this he was often visited by angels, and enjoyed much of the sweetness of holy contemplation; his body was sometimes raised from the ground and was surrounded by such splendour that his brethren could hardly see him.

On the feast of the Assumption he went by himself into a more solitary place, where Brother Leo was to bring bread and water and say matins with him. In this place he was sorely vexed by the devil, who fought much with him, but he was comforted by angels, and every morning a falcon awoke him in time for matins. Once when he was

contemplating the unmeasurable glory and joy of the blessed in the life everlasting, an angel appeared to him, and made such ravishing music that all bodily understanding ceased.

At another time Brother Leo followed Francis, and saw a light descend on his head. Francis told Leo how God had spoken to him and asked for three gifts. Then he found three balls of gold in his breast, and offering these to God, it was shown to him that they signified holy obedience, the most lofty poverty, and the most noble chastity. By the opening of the Gospel in the name of the Most Holy Trinity three times in succession at the Passion of Christ, it was further shown to Francis that as he had followed Christ in the acts of his life, so he should conform himself in the affliction and anguish of the Passion.

On the morning of the day of the Most Holy Cross Francis, turning himself to the east, prayed that he might feel in his body the pain of the Passion, and in his heart the love which moved Christ to bear so much for sinners. Then the fervour of devotion grew

in him so much that he was transformed into Jesus through love and compassion. He saw a seraph come from heaven in swift flight, with six shining wings, and he drew so near that Francis saw the likeness of a crucified man. And it was shown to him that not by martyrdom of the body, but by kindling of the spirit must he be transformed into the express likeness of Christ crucified. Then Monte della Vernia appeared as though burning with flame, and the valleys and mountains round about were lighted up so that the shepherds seeing it had great fear.

No. 30 is a picture of St. Francis over the door leading into the monastery, similar to the picture of Christ (No. 28) over the corresponding door in the southern transept.

No. 30 a. In the corresponding place to the picture of St. Francis and the skeleton in the southern transept, there is in the northern transept a picture of the Death of Judas. The contrast is suggested between the coming of death to those who with Francis follow Christ, and to those who like Judas crucify Him.

No. 31. Madonna and Child with St. John the Evangelist and St. Francis. This picture is usually attributed to Pietro Lorenzetti; it is one of the most beautiful in the church. It is purely a realization of emotion; there is hardly a trace of action either intellectual or physical beyond the gesture with which Madonna points the child to St. Francis. The emotion is of the simplest kind; the child looks up at his mother with a certainty of sympathy, the mother regards the child wistfully, her love is over-shadowed by a sense of the evil days to come. St. John the Evangelist enjoys a classical serenity just tempered by the naturalism of the time; it is a fine ideal of the disciple whom Jesus loved. St. Francis is not characterized as the joyful and simple soul that loved to beg for daily bread, and dreaded the possession even of learning — there is something of the student in the face, which suggests the Dominican rather than the Franciscan habit of mind. It is not only the emotion which is of the simplest kind, the artistic means chosen to express it are equally unaffected. All that can be gained by severity and refine-



LORENZETTI (?) — MADONNA AND CHILD

ment of drawing and colour we enjoy in this picture.

We now come to the *four great allegorical frescoes in the vaults over the high altar*. (They can be seen best in the afternoon light.)

The Ideal of St. Francis

The frescoes over *the high altar in the lower church*, representing Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience, express the ideal of St. Francis. The fourth fresco of the glorification of the saint, represents the divine recognition of this ideal.

The imitation of the life of Christ, which was the aim of St. Francis, does not differ from the nominal aim of all Christians before his time and since. The distinction lies in the method of reaching it, and in the single-minded devotion with which the method was followed.

St. Francis saw in the sojourn of Christ on earth an ideal which he described as holy poverty. It is in the exercise of this, and not in formal faith and ceremonial observance, that the true relations of life become clear.

When it is no longer possible to covet, when life ceases to be a struggle for material prosperity, and when preëminence means the most absolute humility, it becomes natural that love should grow between man and man.

The ideal of holy poverty implies more than a scheme of living without ownership of property. It is an ideal in which a man gives up not only lands and houses, he must also make the sacrifice of all material desires. More than that, he must give up the exercise of his intellect and his will, in the sense that they ought to be used only in submission to the will of another.

Spiritual freedom is gained when that which we have is "prepared by Divine Providence, as is manifest in the bread received in alms," when we have divested the mind of all material desires by the exercise of holy chastity, and when we have submitted the intellect and the will to the guidance of another in holy obedience.

When body and soul alike have been emptied of self, then may be reached that state of contemplation which is the mediæval ideal of beatitude. In this condition man can per-



GIOTTO. — ALLEGORY OF POVERTY

ceive something of the truth regarding the divine attributes, and from this there proceeds the love of God. He can also perceive the divine order in creation, so that all nature is included in the love of one who has reached the power of contemplation through the exercise of holy poverty.

PLAN VIII (p. 149)

No. 32 represents the Mystical Marriage of St. Francis with the Holy Lady Poverty, she who when "Mary stayed below, mounted the cross with Christ" (Wicksteed's translation, *Par.* xi. 71-72). The scene is laid on a bare rock. Christ stands between the pair holding the arm of Poverty, while St. Francis puts a ring on her finger; to the left of Poverty stand Hope and Charity.

On a ledge of the rock below are two undersized figures; the one casts a stone at Poverty, the other points with a stick, and a dog barks — for to her, as to Death, no one opens the gate willingly (*Par.* xi. 59-60).

At the lower corners of the picture are groups showing how men make right and

wrong judgments as to what is the real good. To the spectator's left a youth, moved by charity, gives his robe to a beggar. To the right there is a group of three men; one has nothing to indicate his tendency, the others have chosen the gathering of wealth and the pleasure of the senses as their aim. On each side of the central figures are groups of angels, and in the apex the Father Eternal looks down on the scene.

Mr. Ruskin says that the thorns which are gathered round the feet of Lady Poverty are those of the acacia, from which the crown of thorns was made. The roses and the lilies which spring up behind her are symbols of love and purity. Charity has a garland of flowers, and the warmth of her love is figured by the flames which encircle her head. She has a circular nimbus, like Christ, the angels, and St. Francis, while Poverty and Hope have each a hexagonal nimbus. The circle was considered a more perfect form than the square or the hexagonal. The square nimbus was usually reserved for living persons — the hexagonal for the virtues, while the circular nimbus was the figure of the eternal and ever-

lasting condition. Charity has the circular form, as it is the universal passion, neither Creator nor creature was ever without it (*Purg.* xvii. 91), and the principle of love "tends to God as the principle of happiness" (Gardner, *Ten Heavens*, p. 183).

Two angels rise up towards heaven; the one bears a church with a walled garden. This fair building, with its garden full of fresh green and beautiful foliage, is a figure of the new vigour and force in the Church, springing from the freedom of spirit gained by putting away the hindrances which choke the true life of the soul. The other angel offers up a purse and a garment, probably to signify that the things which have been received from the goodness of God should be offered in His service.

The scene in which the young Francis renounced his family and his heritage, and gave up even the clothes he wore, here receives its mystical interpretation. When the brethren asked him what virtue made a man most the friend of Christ, he answered: "Know, brothers, that poverty is the special way for salvation, because she is humility and the

root of perfection. . . . And if any man wishes to ascend to the height of perfection he must renounce worldly wisdom and knowledge of letters, that is to say, if he is to get gain of it. For if he is freed from all such worldly powers and possessions he may enter into the power of God, and offer himself naked to the arms of Christ. It cannot be said that a man has renounced all, if he has reserved something of his own prudence or understanding."

No. 33. Holy Chastity is personified by a young woman who is seen in prayer in the tower of a strong castle. The building is on a bare rock, and is surrounded by walls and towers in the usual fashion.

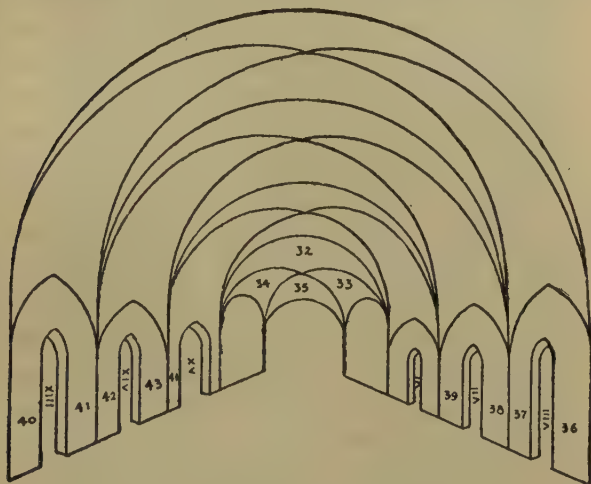
Two angels float round about the tower, and offer a palm and a crown to Chastity.

The central scene outside the castle walls is the purification by baptism of a young man; an angel lays a hand on his head, and another pours water over it. To the right two angels hold clothing ready for him, probably the habit of the order. Purity and Fortitude lean over the castle wall, the one with a banner and the other with a shield, so



GIOTTO. — ALLEGORY OF CHASTITY

that the newly baptized one may be made ready to join the soldiery of the heavenly kingdom. The outward purification of the



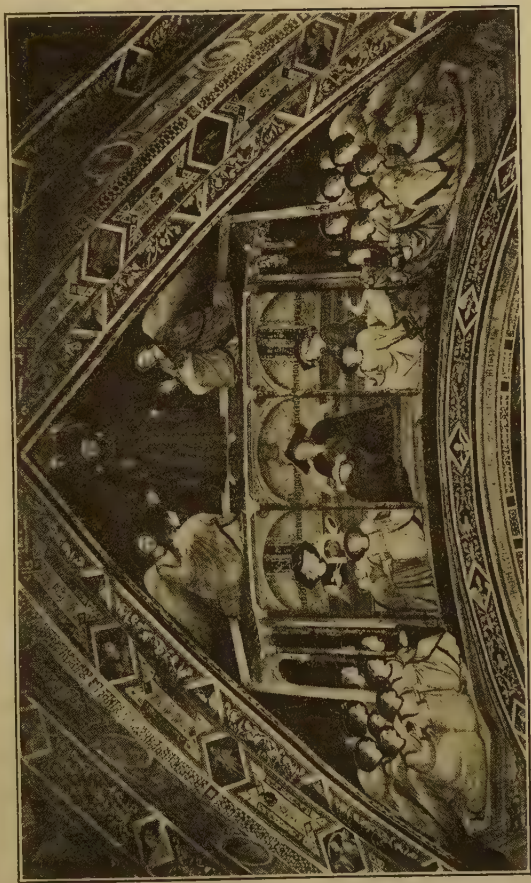
Plan VIII—Nave of the Lower Church of San Francesco,
Assisi

body by water is the symbol of that inward purification of the soul which springs from the renunciation implied in the Franciscan ideal of poverty. When pride of intellect, self-assertion, ambition, avarice, and love of

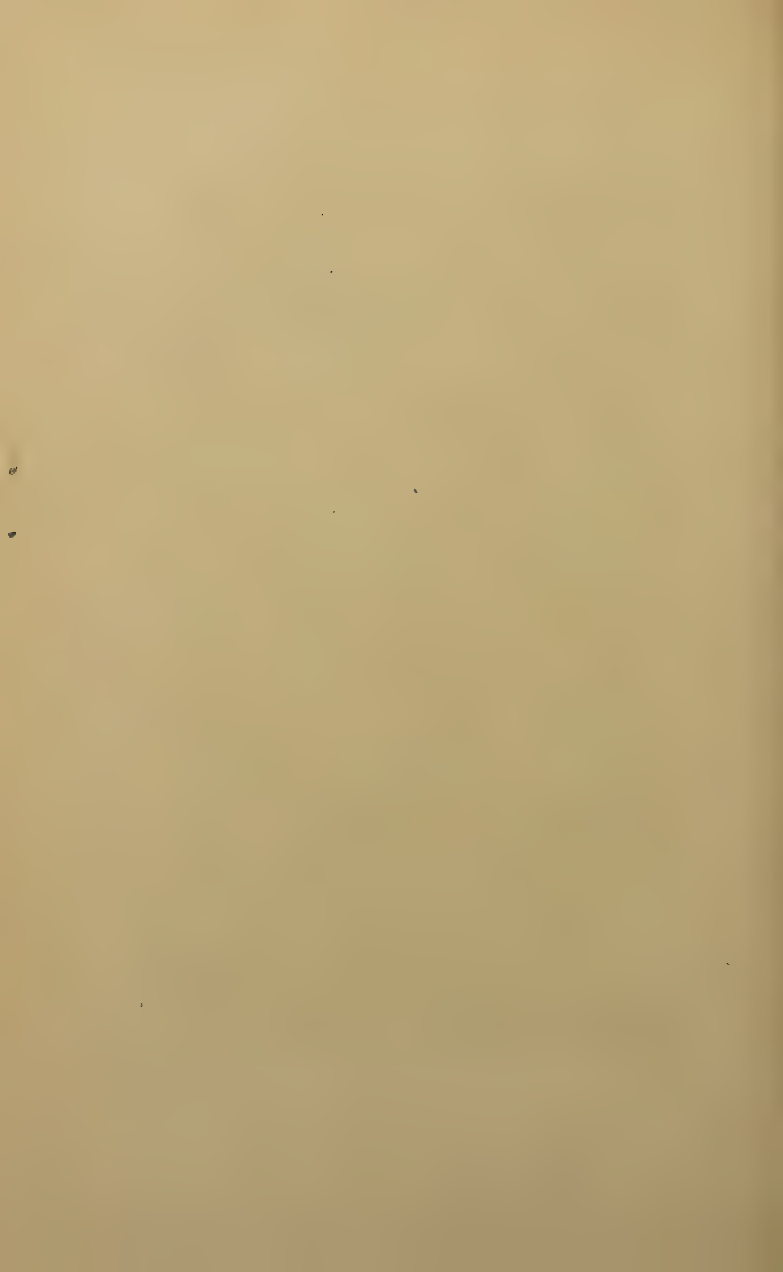
luxury have been driven out by the love of holy poverty then is there true purification alike of body and soul.

Returning to the picture, three figures on the left eagerly climb the rocky slope, and stretch upwards towards St. Francis; he takes the hand of one of them, who is a monk. An angel holds out a cross, and a nun reaches towards it to clasp it in her hand. The monk and nun have been called Bernard of Quintevale and Sta. Chiara; the layman is supposed to represent the third order. On the other side of the fresco there is a contest with the vices. "Amor" and two other personifications of disorder are being forced over the edge of the rock. A cowed and winged figure of Penitence lays her lash on the back of "Amor," and an angel thrusts at him with a spear. Another angel with cross and shield stands in an attitude of defence. Death as a skeleton forces an evil spirit down into the abyss.

Another important element of the picture is the placing of guardians on each of the three sides of the castle. They have circular nimbuses and wings. Those that can be fully



GIOTTO.—ALLEGORY OF OBEDIENCE



seen in the front have shields, and two of them bear scourges — they are the ministers of Penitence and defenders of the castle of Chastity. They are also doubtless ministers of God, the swords and shields suggesting that they belong to the order of the principalities.

A certain brother on one occasion said to Brother Egidio, "You who so commend the virtue of chastity, tell me what it is." "Brother," answered Egidio, "I tell thee, that properly, chastity is the anxious custodian and continual guardian of the corporal and spiritual senses, preserving them pure and immaculate for God alone."

Holy Obedience is the subject of the fresco No. 34. The sanction for this quality is found in the crucified Christ, partially visible behind the figure of Obedience. Man is subject to various temptations on his way towards the true goal of life. The pleasure in riches and other material well-being, and the pleasure in the beauty and capacity of the body, may both be subdued and yet man is not free from danger.

Unless the will is brought into subjection,

there can be no right rule of life, for it is by the will (that is, by the union of desire and reason) that the use of our capacities is regulated. Hence, if they are to be turned to the best purpose, man must be stript of his self-will so that temptation may be put away from him.

This submission of the will is represented by Holy Obedience, who sits in the centre of the picture, laying her hand upon the yoke, which a monk who kneels before her holds in his hands. She lays a finger on her mouth to forbid speech, for in silence we may best study that which is in the heart. To the left sits Prudence with two faces, one old, the other young, a figure of the memory of things past, and an understanding of things present, from which springs a foresight of that which is to come. Prudence is the quality which leads a man to a "right estimate of the best interests of life."

In order that this power of estimating may be gained, there must be experience and a broad outlook over life regarded as a whole. Hence Prudence holds a looking-glass, in which the kneeling monk, when he turns his

head, may see reflected therein the past and present, as it were, so that he may guide himself aright in the future.

The compasses she holds symbolize the measure in all things by which a man exercises moderation and attains to calmness of soul.

Besides the looking-glass and the compasses, Prudence has an astronomical instrument, explaining the method of the ruling of the heavens, used here as a symbol of the ruling which Prudence exercises in the life of man.

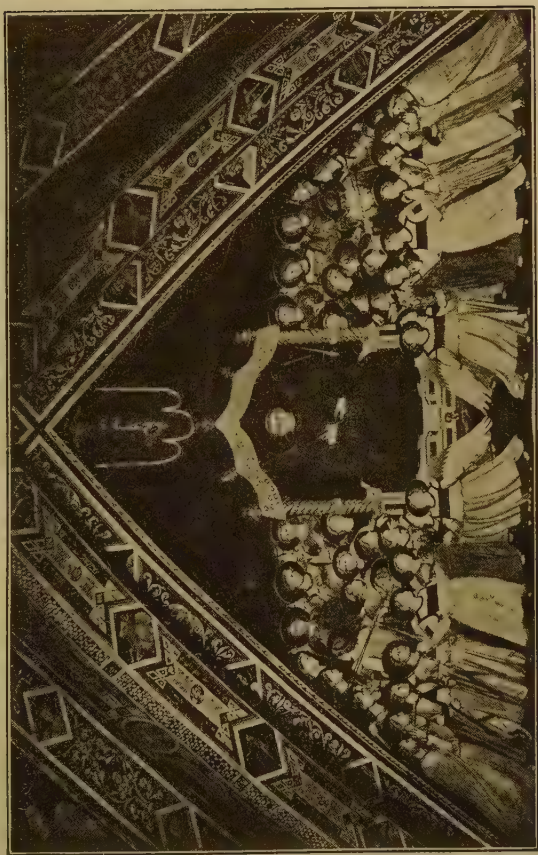
Opposite to Prudence, and to the right of Obedience, is seated Humility. This is the quality which most easily opens the mind to the influence of celestial as opposed to terrestrial things. It is the most efficient means of putting aside all that which hinders the spiritual life. In the exercise of it, man makes free progress towards the divine. Humility is a state implying an absence of all presumption, and in this simplicity, virtue gives a clear and bright light, which is symbolized by the candle she has in her hand.

He who by prudence forms a true concep-

tion of the right aim in life, and who through humility is saved from the temptations which beset the soul, is fitted to submit his will to the yoke of subjection. If he is moved to bear the yoke by the spirit of charity then he will rise to heaven by holy obedience — this is signified by the wings which she bears.

Below the figure of Prudence two novices are led towards Holy Obedience by an angel. On the other side, below Humility, is a centaur; he has the body of a man, the forefeet of a horse, and the hind feet of a beast of prey. This creature of mixed nature is significant of the man in whom reason no longer holds sway over the lower nature. An angel points to Holy Obedience as a means of reconciliation, only to produce disgust and aversion in a being so disordered and misruled.

Obedience, Prudence, and Humility sit in an open loggia; at each side there is a company of kneeling angels, and above we see St. Francis attended by two kneeling angels. He is drawn up to heaven by cords; he has in his left hand a cross, and the marks of the stigmata are shown.



GIOTTO. — GLORIFICATION OF ST. FRANCIS

No. 35. The Glory of St. Francis. A certain brother, when travelling with St. Francis, had a vision of a throne set in heaven, and he heard a voice saying, " This seat was Lucifer's who fell through pride, and now it is kept for the humble Francis." The saint sits with a cross in his right hand, and in his left, a book. Over his head is a banner with a cross, and an angel of the order of seraphim, who " see more of the First Cause than any other angelic nature."

Round about the throne of St. Francis is a company of angels dancing, singing, and making music. Like the spirits that Dante sees in the heaven of the sun, they seem " as ladies not from the dance released, but pausing, silent, listening, till they catch the notes renewed " (Wicksteed's translation, *Par.* x. 79-81). Then again, " the glorious wheel " revolves, and renders " voice to voice in harmony and sweetness that may not be known except where joy maketh itself eternal " (Wicksteed's translation, *Par.* x. 145-148).

Life in its most complete form exists in God, who, while He is Himself unmoved, is

the source from whence all motion proceeds. Motion is therefore an expression of the life which man receives from God, and since this life partakes of the nature of God, it finds its most complete development in the desire of the individual to return to its source. This desire is an expression of love, and as its object is to return to God, it is the love of God.

Hence the revolving of the heavens of the angels round the point from which springs life (*Par.* xxviii. 16), the circling of the souls which Dante sees, and the dancing of the angels round the throne of St. Francis is nothing else than an expression of the bond which unites all created things in their love of the Creator. It is in this circuit of motion of life, and of love, that the soul gains strength to perceive the final vision of the "Eternal Light who only in Itself abides, only Itself understands, and to Itself turns love and smiling" (Wicksteed's translation, *Par.* xxxiii. 124-126).

This vision of the eternal is realized in the painting upon the ribs of the vaulting. In the centre, where the ribs join, is the figure

of the Almighty, and gathered round in circle after circle are figures illustrative of the apocalyptic vision in parts of the Revelations, chapters iv. and vi. In the *first circle* there may still be seen the lamb and the altar. In the *second circle* (following from rib to rib) are the four living things having the likenesses of a lion, a calf, the face of a man, and an eagle. In the *third circle* are the four riders on the white, the red, the black, and the pale horses. There are also the lamps which signify the Seven Spirits of God.

The angelic host is indicated by figures symbolizing the orders of the heavenly hierarchy. Seraphim are nearest the centre, cherubim, with two faces, come next; then there are figures of the order of thrones, and other angels, with symbols difficult to recognize, but probably representing the rest of the nine orders. There are also figures representing the four and twenty elders. Although it is now difficult to make a satisfactory identification of the individual members of the whole scheme, there can be little doubt that it is intended

to represent the vision which was seen by the hundred and forty and four thousand servants of God, who were sealed in their foreheads.

This vision of the glory of God is the consummation of the whole scheme of the transepts of the lower church. The life of Christ is the example which a man ought to set before him. He who lives under the rule of holy poverty, holy obedience, and holy chastity is following in the footsteps of Christ. To such an one will it be given, as it was to St. Francis, to be raised up to enjoy the enlightenment of the everlasting kingdom and to perceive "the dispensation of the mystery which from all ages hath been hid in God."

Frescoes in the Nave of the Lower Church

On the walls of the nave of the lower church there are remains of frescoes now hardly distinguishable. On the right wall there are scenes from the Passion of Christ, and on the left scenes from the life of St. Francis.

On the Right Wall

PLAN VIII (p. 149)

Nos. 36 and 37 have probably formed parts of a Crucifixion; to the left it is possible to distinguish Madonna and St. John the Evangelist.

No. 38. Deposition from the Cross.

No. 39. Entombment. Christ lies upon the rock, women are gathered about the body.

On the Left Wall

No. 40. Francis renounces the world.

No. 41. The Pope sees the vision of a poor man supporting the Church of the Lateran.

No. 42. Francis preaches to the birds.

No. 43. Francis receives the stigmata.

No. 44. Death of Francis (close to the pulpit).

No. 45. Coronation of the Virgin, on the wall at the back of the pulpit. A beautiful fresco in the Florentine manner. Christ and His mother are seated on a throne together, they turn towards each other, and

Madonna, who is clothed in white and has a white veil over her head, folds her arms in loving adoration and receives the crown from Christ. At each side of the throne nimbed saints and angels look on with eager joy.

No. 46 represents a scene from the life of St. Stanislas, Bishop of Cracow. This bishop was canonized in the church by Innocent IV. in 1253. King Boleslas having seized a piece of land belonging to the Church, the bishop raised a man from the dead to give testimony to its proper ownership.

In No. 47, Bishop Stanislas having censured the disorders of the king's actions, he is murdered by order of the king while at the altar on the 7th May, 1079.

No. 48. Remains of a picture of the Crucifixion.

CHAPTER VII

THE CHAPELS OF S. FRANCESCO

THE chapels of the lower church have been covered with paintings setting forth the acts of St. Mary Magdalene, St. Stephen, St. Lawrence, St. Catherine, St. Nicholas, and St. Martin, all of them examples of the Franciscan virtues.

The mediæval history of St. Mary Magdalene is confused with that of Mary the sister of Lazarus, and with various legends. She remains, however, the great example of the efficacy of contrition, confession, and penance.

St. Stephen was probably honoured, not only as the first martyr, but as one of the first deacons, to whom the care of the poor was confided by the early Church.

St. Lawrence, also a deacon, gave all the

treasure that had fallen into the hands of the Church to the poor, whom he sought out night and day. When the treasure was demanded of him, he presented the poor people, saying, "These be the eternal treasure; the hands of these have borne the treasure to heaven."

St. Catherine of Alexandria, though she was born queen of her country and was instructed in all liberal arts, despised the things of this life and gave herself wholly to the Lord Jesus Christ, and so she was mystically united in marriage to Him, even as St. Francis was united to Holy Poverty.

St. Nicholas, according to legend, fasted even as an infant, and when he inherited his father's wealth he gave it away.

St. Martin, as a youth, renounced the world, and even before he left the service of the emperor his charity moved him to share his cloak with a beggar. He renounced not only the world but all its allurements, so that when straw was laid for his bed he threw it away and slept on the ground.

These men and women were moved by a humility that knew no shame except in the

presence of a humility deeper than their own; by a love of their neighbours without any limit, especially for the poor and the sick; by a love of God that made submission to His will the highest joy.

Frescoes in the chapel of St. Martin

PLAN IX (p. 166)

In No. 49 Martin divides his cloak with a beggar. When riding out of Amiens in winter time, Martin met a poor naked man to whom no one gave heed. He drew his sword, cut his mantle, and gave half of it to the beggar.

In No. 50 Martin lies asleep; he sees in a vision Jesus Christ wearing the mantle he had given to the poor man. Angels surround Christ, who points to the sleeper; they have large dull faces with narrow eyes, and hair arranged in heavy coils, characteristic of the Sienese school.

No. 51 shows Martin girt with the sword and spurs of knighthood. The young soldier, his hands clasped in prayer, looks up with an ecstatic air regardless of his surroundings.

The emperor, who binds on the sword, looks at him with alarm, uncertain what such a temper may mean. To the right of the picture a commonplace and rather grotesque group celebrate the occasion with music.

No. 52. St. Martin refuses the emperor's gift. The emperor gives money to the knights who fought against the barbarians, and in the background an armed soldier receives his share. In the foreground St. Martin refuses to accept the gift. The emperor, seated with ball and sceptre and wearing a garland, looks at the saint with an air of offence, and with the cunning amazement natural to the worldly mind when it suddenly finds itself in the presence of the spiritual life. Martin holds a cross and looks over his shoulder at the emperor; his figure is a marvel of detailed realization, but the shade of disdain which passes across his features fails to strike the true note. The soldier who stands at the side of the principal figure has something of the same fantastic character as the man with the double flute in the last fresco.



MARTINI. — ST. MARTIN BEFORE THE EMPEROR

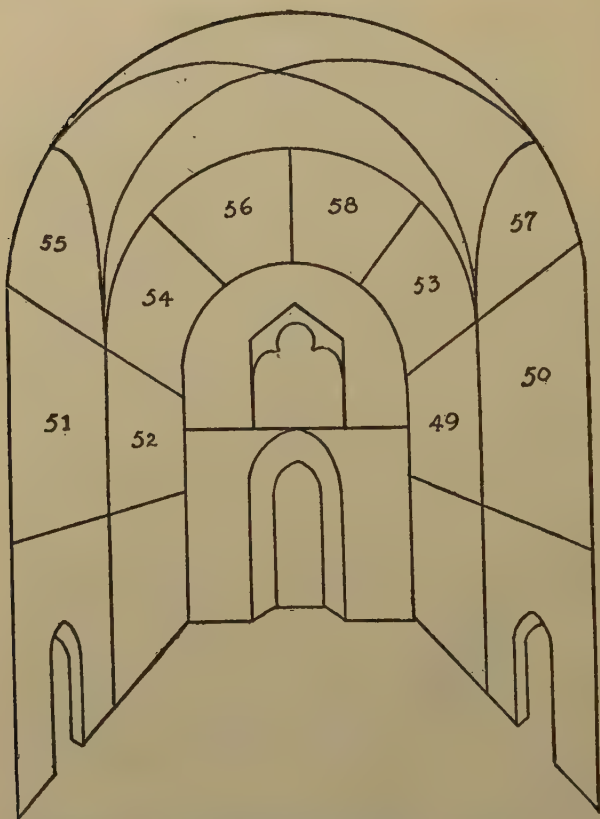
In No. 53 St. Martin restores a child to life. This fresco is much damaged.

No. 54. St. Martin and the Emperor Valentinian. St. Martin desired to have some grant from the emperor, who would not see him. After a week's fasting an angel bade the saint go to the palace, and told him that he would find entrance. When St. Martin appeared before Valentinian, the emperor, in spite of his anger, was forced to confess the influence of divine power. Rising from his throne, he embraced the saint and granted that which was desired.

No. 55 is the mass of St. Martin. St. Martin, going to church, gave his own clothing to a poor man; and his archdeacon, in contempt, brought him a common garment from the market. It was so short that when the saint raised his arms in saying mass it was seen that they were bare, and angels brought sleeves of gold, and upon his head there lighted fire from above as upon the heads of the Apostles.

No. 56 probably represents the death of St. Martin.

No. 57 probably refers to the revelation



Plan IX.—Chapel of St. Martin, Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi

of the death of St. Martin made to St. Ambrose. St. Ambrose, whilst saying mass, fell asleep between the lesson of the prophecy and the Epistle. After waiting for three hours for leave to read the Epistle, his clergy awoke him, and he told them that he had been at the burial of St. Martin, and that in disturbing him they had prevented him making an end of the prayers.

No. 58 is probably the funeral of St. Martin.

The chapel was built by the Franciscan Cardinal Gentile da Montefiore. *Over the entrance* there is a picture of St. Martin raising the kneeling cardinal. On the under surface of *the entrance archway* there are painted SS. Francis and Anthony, SS. Catherine and Mary Magdalene, SS. Louis the King and Louis the Archbishop, and SS. Chiara and Elizabeth. These are all in the Sienese manner.

There are six lights in the window. The central subjects are Christ and Madonna; perhaps Martin as a warrior and St. Peter; St. Martin as a bishop and Cardinal Gentile. In the lights to the left there are, SS. Gregory

and Martin; SS. Francis and Nicholas; a bishop and St. Stephen. In the lights to the right, SS. Jerome and Paul; a civilian with a palm (?) and a bishop; and SS. Anthony of Padua and Lorenzo.

The frescoes in this chapel show able characterization. The emperor, his soldiers, the camp followers, the eager spirit of the young saint, the severe gravity of the elderly bishops, are all well rendered; but the individual figures are not fused into dramatic representations. There is a marvellous care in detail and a keen sense of decorative effect and refinement.

The following frescoes form a representation of Sienese art in S. Francesco: No. 23 in the southern transept, Nos. 10 to 20 — the Passion scenes — in the northern transept, No. 31 also in that transept, and Nos. 49 to 58 in the Chapel of St. Martin. Hardly anywhere else except in Siena or S. Gimignano can a collection of Sienese art be seen on the same grand scale, and not even in these places is there the same opportunity of comparing the Sienese and Florentine schools.

Chapel of St. Nicholas

Chapel of St. Nicholas, or the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament, at the end of the southern transept. This chapel is the burial-place of Napoleone Orsini (cardinal, 1288-1342?) and Giovanni Orsini (cardinal, 1316-1355). They both died in Avignon. The tomb of Napoleone is still to be seen. The frescoes are gay and harmonious in colour, and the stories are told in a simple, straightforward way; but there is a want of power, suggesting the hand of some follower of Giotto who was not fully inspired by the new style.

PLAN X (p. 171)

No. 59 is a series of Apostles; ten only now remain.

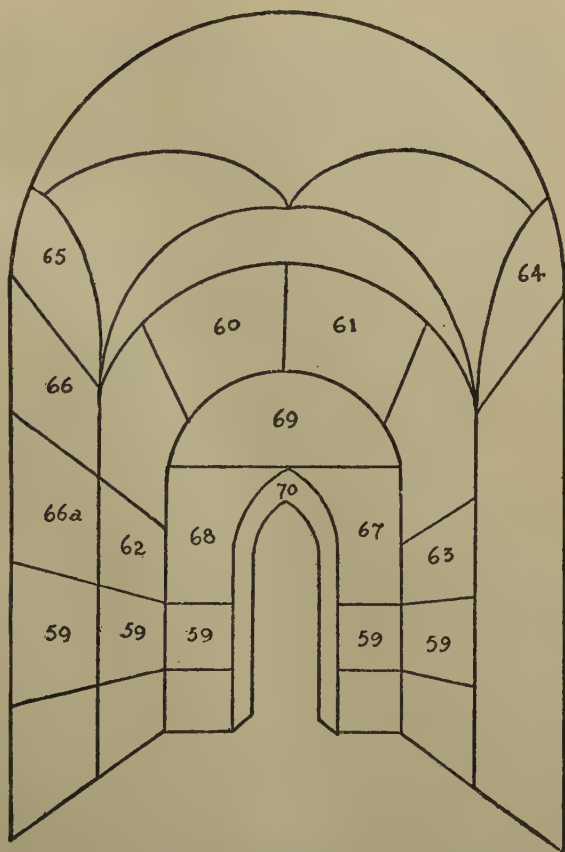
No. 60. St. Nicholas, desiring to give away the riches left by his father, and hearing that a nobleman, unable to give marriage portions to his daughters, was about to abandon them to an evil life, went by night and threw gold into the house, so that there was a portion for each.

No. 61. St. Nicholas, finding that a consul had corruptly condemned three youths to death, took with him three princes of the emperor, who happened to have been driven into port by the wind, and seizing the sword with which the executioner was about to kill the youths, he unbound them and took them away in safety.

No. 62. St. Nicholas having reproved the consul for his corrupt judgment, forgives him at the entreaty of the three princes. This is one of the best of the series.

No. 63. The three princes having fallen out of favour with the emperor they are imprisoned, and one of them remembering St. Nicholas, they all prayed to him. In the night the saint appeared to the Emperor Constantine, causing him so much fear that he examined the prisoners. When they had told him of the life of St. Nicholas he bade them to ask for the prayers of the saint for himself and his country, and set them free.

No. 64. A Jew hearing of the power of St. Nicholas set up his image and gave his goods to the keeping of the saint. He was



Plan X.—Chapel of St. Nicholas, Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi

robbed of everything except the image. Then the Jew beat it and abused it. St. Nicholas appearing to the thieves, caused them to restore what they had taken, and both the thieves and the Jew were converted to the truth.

No. 65. A man who observed the feast of St. Nicholas every year was busy making ready for it when the devil appeared as a pilgrim. The man bade his son give alms, and the pilgrim, when followed by the child, seized and strangled him. The father upbraided St. Nicholas and prayed to him, and the child came to life again.

No. 66. A rich man had a son granted to him through the intercession of St. Nicholas. The boy was captured by a pagan king, and was caused to serve him. On the feast of the saint the boy, remembering the annual celebration in his father's house, was sorrowful, and when the king knew the cause he defied the saint, and said the boy should continue to serve him. Suddenly a strong wind carried the child, and set him down at his father's house.

In No. 66a the parents of the child receive him with great joy.

No. 67 is St. John the Baptist.

No. 68 is probably St. Mary Magdalene.

No. 69. A figure of Christ to whom St. Francis and St. Nicholas present the two Orsini cardinals.

No. 70. On the *under surface of the entrance arch* there are twelve saints:—

SS. Rufinus and Nicholas.

SS. Francis and Anthony of Padua.

SS. Sabinus and Victorinus.

SS. George and Adrianus.

SS. Chiara and a Queen.

SS. Agnes and perhaps Elizabeth.

There are three windows with two lights each.

To the left — SS. Vincentius and Francis, SS. Agostinus and Adrianus (?), SS. Victorinus and Rufinus. In the centre — Christ and St. Francis, SS. Gregory (?) and Nicholas. To the right — SS. Stephen and Lorenzo, SS. Francis and Anthony, SS. Jerome and Gregory.

The Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene

The frescoes in this chapel are among the best in the lower church; they are worthy of the most careful study, and they should be compared with other examples of the best Florentine fourteenth century painting. The frescoes are concerned with the mediæval account of the life of St. Mary Magdalene.

On the roof of the chapel: —

PLAN XI (p. 176)

Nos. 71, 72, 73 and 74 represent respectively Christ, Lazarus, Martha and Mary.

No. 75 shows Christ in the house of the Pharisee. Mary Magdalene anoints the feet of Christ. Christ and two disciples sit at table with the Pharisee and a guest. The contrast between the dignified Christ and the resentful air of the Jews is striking.

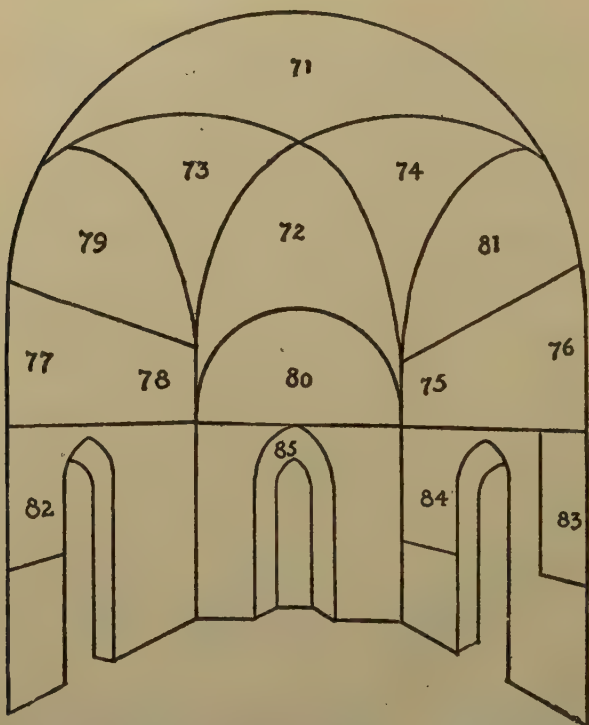
No. 76 depicts the raising of Lazarus. This is one of the great pictures in early Tuscan art. It is an instance of how the best Florentines could deal with the deepest

mysteries of life in the most impressive manner, and yet bring them within the range of average mankind by the subtle perception of the human element, which lies hidden in the impenetrable enigma of the universe. The painter makes us feel that we are in the presence of infinite power, and that we share in its manifestation.

No. 77. *Noli me tangere*. Mary kneels before Christ; she obeys the command, but she reaches forward in loving anxiety.

The mediæval life of St. Mary Magdalene goes on to relate how she, her brother Lazarus, Martha, and other Christians were sent to sea in a rudderless boat. They were, however, guided by God, and they landed at Marseilles. The prince and princess of the country heard the preaching of Mary, and offered to believe, if she would obtain the grace of a son for them.

They set out to Palestine to learn of St. Peter. On the way the child was born, and the princess died. The child was laid beside her on a rocky island, and the prince went on to Jerusalem, and was taught by St. Peter for two years. On his return they



Plan XI. — Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene, Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi

found the child alive, and the princess also revived.

In fresco No. 78 two angels guide the boat

towards Marseilles, and there is also an indication of the return of the ship with the prince from Palestine.

No. 79. St. Mary Magdalene, in order to enjoy holy contemplation, retired to the desert, and dwelt in a cave for thirty years. Angels raised her up daily into the air, and she was fed with celestial food.

No. 80. A priest who had also become a hermit saw this, and when he was permitted to speak with her she bade him warn St. Maximin that she was coming to receive communion before her death.

No. 81. St. Mary Magdalene receives the communion from St. Maximin. The saint kneels before the bishop, who stands at the altar. She died where she knelt, and her soul went up to the Lord borne by four angels. This vision of the translation is particularly fine.

No. 82. Bishop Pontano kisses the hand of St. Mary Magdalene.

No. 83 is St. Martha.

In No. 84 Bishop Pontano kneels before S. Rufino. The figures on the under surface of the entrance to the chapel can hardly be

distinguished. At the top of the arch there is what seems to be a figure of Christ in the form of the Sun of Righteousness. There are also SS. Matthew and Peter, and probably St. Paul, St. Paul the Hermit, and St. Anthony the Abbot. The women saints have been supposed to be SS. Catherine and Agatha, and SS. Agnes, and perhaps Rosa.

There are four lights in the window. To the left are Christ, St. Mary Magdalene, and two other doubtful figures (No. 1).

No. 2 represents Madonna and Child; St. Mary Magdalene in prayer; St. Mary Magdalene receiving a garment from an angel (?); St. Mary Magdalene receiving the Sacrament (?).

No. 3. *Noli me tangere*, Christ and St. Mary Magdalene, and two other doubtful subjects.

No. 4 shows Christ in the house of the Pharisee; the Raising of Lazarus; Martha and Mary kneeling before Christ; St. Mary Magdalene anointing the feet of Christ.

Chapel of St. Anthony of Padua

The frescoes in this chapel are attributed to Sermei (1610). They are of no interest

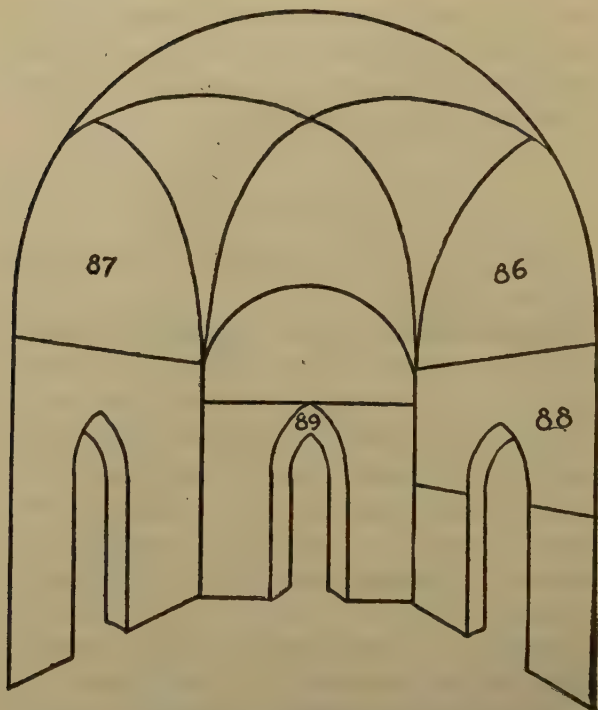
except as relating miracles connected with St. Anthony of Padua. If the spectator stands with his back to the window he will have to his right in the lunette: —

PLAN XII (p. 180)

St. Anthony preaching to Pope Gregory IX. (No. 86).

To the left (No. 87), is the Miracle, worked in Rimini in order that a certain Bovidilla, who did not believe in the Real Presence, might be convinced of its power. Carrying the Host in procession the saints met the mule of the unbeliever. The animal knelt down, though its master tempted it to neglect the presence of the Host by offering it food.

Below the "Preaching of St. Anthony" and near the window (No. 88) there are some remains of pictures, probably referring to the story of how the father of St. Anthony, who lived in Lisbon, was falsely accused of a murder. The saint was in Italy, but in answer to prayer he appeared before the judges and caused the body of the dead man



Plan XII.—Chapel of St. Anthony in the Lower Chapel of
San Francesco, Assisi

to give evidence, so that his father was cleared of suspicion.

The scenes in the window relate to the

history of the saint. In one of the lights there is a picture of him preaching to the fishes. On the under surface of the entrance arch are the disciples of St. Francis (No. 89).

Chapel of St. Louis the King or of St. Stephen

The frescoes on the walls of this chapel are attributed to Dono Doni. They are of no interest. The frescoes on the roof have been attributed to L'Ingegno.

PLAN XIII (p. 182)

No. 94. The Condemnation of St. Stephen.

No. 95. St. Stephen led away to be stoned.

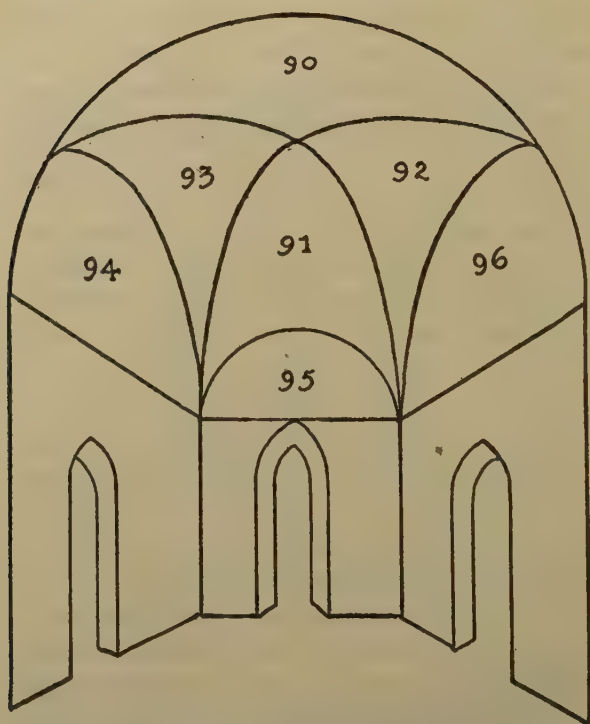
No. 96. The Stoning.

On the roof, the prophets and sibyls are associated in prophesying of Christ.

No. 90 (*over the window*). Daniel ix. 24. — The prophecy referred to is that concerning the seventy weeks. The sibyl prophesies the birth from a virgin.

No. 91 (*over the entrance arch*). Jeremiah xxxi. 22 — "The Lord hath created a new thing in the earth." Sibyl Tiburtina — "Christ born in Bethlehem."

No. 92. Micah v. 2 — "But thou, Beth-



Plan XIII. — Chapel of St. Louis the King, Lower Church
of San Francesco, Assisi

lehem Ephratah, though thou be little among
the thousands of Judah." Sibyl Persica —
"The invisible word is seen and touched."

No. 93. Psalm xvi. 10 — "Neither wilt Thou suffer Thy Holy One to see corruption." Cumean Sibyl — "After having been in the tomb for three days He will arise."

The window has four lights. To the left are: —

The Angel of St. Matthew, St. Louis the Archbishop, St. Louis the King (No. 1).

No. 2 shows the Eagle of St. John, Christ in blessing, and St. Francis.

No. 3 shows the Ox of St. Luke, the Virgin Crowned, a Franciscan Saint (?).

The Lion of St. Mark, and a Queen are in No. 4.

Between the chapels of St. Anthony and St. Stephen there is a picture of the Martyrdom of St. Lawrence, with St. John the Baptist, and the Bishops Rufinus and Victor.

*Chapel of St. Catherine or Cappella del
Crocefisso*

This chapel is the burial-place of Cardinal Egidio Albornoz, who died in 1367. The frescoes are in very bad condition.

PLAN XIV (p. 185)

No. 97 probably refers to the story of how St. Catherine was led to go out from Alexandria into the desert, and was there mystically married to Christ.

No. 98. When the Emperor Maxentius came to Alexandria Christians were condemned to death. St. Catherine appeared before the emperor and argued with him. He sent for wise men to convince Catherine, and she converted them to Christianity.

In No. 99 the wise men are condemned, bound, and cast into the fire.

St. Catherine is cast into prison (No. 100). The queen and Porphyry visit her, and are converted.

The emperor found that Catherine had suffered nothing from starvation while in prison, and in his wrath he ordered two wheels to be made so that they should break all that came between them. St. Catherine prayed to God, and an angel destroyed the wheels (No. 101).

In No. 102 the queen upbraids the emperor, and declares herself a Christian.



Plan XIV. — Chapel of St. Catherine, Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi

No. 103. The queen is tortured and beheaded.

No. 104. St. Catherine is beheaded.

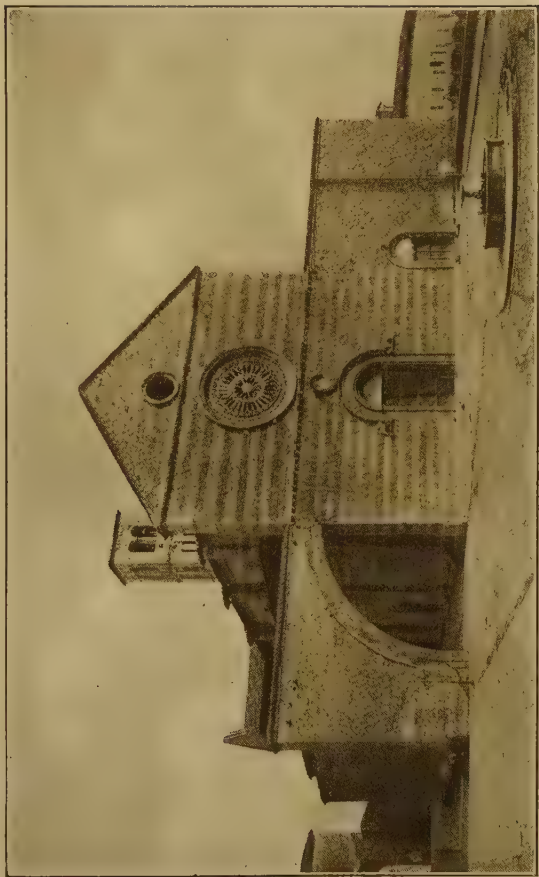
No. 105 depict Bishops Blasius, Eugenius, and St. Louis.

No. 106 shows St. Francis and two uncertain pictures; one of them is supposed to represent the consecration of Cardinal Alborno.

The figures in the windows have not been fully identified. The central lights contain Madonna and Child, St. Catherine, SS. Agnes and Lucy, and St. Francis and Sta. Chiara.

The Tomb of St. Francis

The tomb of St. Francis is in a subterranean chapel, which is reached by stairs descending from the nave of the lower church. Francis is said to have foreseen that his body should receive great honour after his death, and "so will it be for the praise of my God, and by His grace" (*Mirror of Perfection*, cix.).



CHURCH OF STA. CHIARA

CHAPTER VIII

OTHER CHURCHES

The Church of Sta. Chiara

THIS was the church raised in honour of the saint after her death.

The building was begun in 1257 upon a piece of ground beside the old parish church of S. Giorgio, which was incorporated in the new structure. The hospital belonging to S. Giorgio became the convent to which the "poor ladies" were transferred from S. Damiano.

It was in the parish church that St. Francis had learned to read and write, and it was here that his body lay until the Church of S. Francesco was built.

The main incidents in the life of Sta. Chiara of which we have any record, are as follows. She was the daughter of Favorino

Scifi, a noble, whose castle stood on the outskirts of Assisi in the direction of the Carceri. Sta. Chiara had listened to the preaching of St. Francis. She was inspired with an enthusiasm for the ideal of life which he set before men. She determined to follow his example, to leave everything, and to take up the life of holy poverty. St. Francis advised her to make the definite renunciation on Palm Sunday of the year 1212. In the cathedral, on the morning of that day, she remained kneeling in prayer while the rest of the congregation went up to the altar to receive the branches of palms. Thereupon the bishop himself came towards her and placed the palm in her hand.

That night she left her father's house and went down to the Porziuncola, where she was received by Francis. She changed her dress for a plain grey habit, her hair was shorn off, and thus she marked her renunciation of the world and her determination to become a servant of the poor.

Soon after she was joined by her sister Agnes, by her mother Ortolana, and by some members of another noble family, the

Ubalдини. They received the chapel and convent of S. Damiano from St. Francis, and here they lived a laborious life of devotion, observing strictly the rule of poverty. Sta. Chiara died at the age of sixty. For some years before her death she had lost the use of her limbs, but this did not prevent her from continuing to labour in the spinning of flax, which the sisters used for making altar cloths.

After her death in 1253 the community was removed for greater safety to S. Giorgio within the walls of Assisi.

The church is a Gothic building of red and white stone, with large flying buttresses, which add to the picturesque and imposing appearance of the structure. The architect was Fra Filippo da Campello, and the wheel window designed by him in the western façade is justly famed for its beauty.

The interior is light and spacious, with a high vaulted roof. The bare walls were at one time covered with frescoes, now hidden under a coating of whitewash. The only paintings of importance that remain are in the vaulting of the roof above the high

altar. The colour of these pictures is light and harmonious, and the general effect is very beautiful. They celebrate the most famous Christian virgins.

Beginning with the diagonal towards the apse the saints are: the Virgin Mary and Sta. Chiara. To the right of these are saints Cecilia and Lucia. Then follows Agnes, the sister of Sta. Chiara, and a Franciscan nun whose name is indecipherable. The two remaining figures to the left of the Virgin are saints Margaret and Catherine.

Opening out of the south transept is the Chapel of St. Agnes, which contains an interesting portrait of Sta. Chiara, said to be the work of Cimabue. The painting is mainly in two colours, red and black; and there are eight scenes from the life of the saint at the sides.

The portrait is that of a tall, middle-aged woman with a thin, worn face. She wears a roughly made black dress and hood. She has a cord round her waist, her feet are bare. The picture is not beautiful, but it has the appearance of being a faithful record.

The scenes are as follows, beginning with the lowest panel on the left.

(1.) Sta. Chiara receives a palm branch from the bishop.

(2.) She meets St. Francis and the Frati at the Porziuncola.

(3.) She makes her vows of renunciation, and her hair is cut off.

(4.) Her parents try to force her to return to them.

On the right, beginning at the top:—

(5.) St. Agnes joins her sister.

(6.) Sta. Chiara blesses the bread on the occasion when Innocent IV. came to visit her.

(7.) The death of the saint.

(8.) The translation of the body from S. Damiano to S. Giorgio. On the opposite wall of the chapel is a picture of Madonna and Child, attributed by some authorities to Cimabue.

Crossing the nave we enter on the right the side chapel of S. Giorgio, once the parish church, where the bodies of both St. Francis and Sta. Chiara were kept until the new buildings were ready. On the wall of en-

trance are paintings by an unknown artist of the Sienese school.

At the top, the Annunciation; below on the left, St. George kills the Dragon. In the centre is the Nativity of Christ; and on the right, the Visit of the Magi. The frescoes are of no great interest, and the designs are conventional. The flesh tints are unusually pale, and the predominant colour of the draperies and background is a dull red.

Behind the altars are frescoes by another hand, representing the Deposition from the Cross, the Entombment, and the Resurrection.

Below these paintings, and a little to the right, are several exceedingly lovely figures in bright delicate colours. In the centre is the Virgin, enthroned; on the left, St. John the Baptist and Sta. Chiara; on the right, St. George and St. Francis. These paintings have been attributed to Giotto, but they have the characteristics of a Sienese rather than of a Florentine master.

In the same chapel there is a triptych by an artist of the school of Giotto. In the centre is the Crucifixion; on the left are

Sta. Chiara and her sister Agnes. On the right, S. Rufino and St. Agnes of Rome.

Here also is shown the Byzantine crucifix from S. Damiano, whence Francis received the message.

Returning to the nave, behind the high altar is a large crucifix of the school of Margaritone of Arezzo (1236-1313?). An inscription upon the picture says that it was painted by order of Benedicta, who succeeded Sta. Chiara, and was the first abbess in the new convent.

On the walls of the right transept are fragments of frescoes, from which the white-wash has been removed. The lower range seems to have been a series of scenes from the life of Sta. Chiara; the upper row illustrate the life of Christ. Portions of the Flight into Egypt and the Massacre of the Innocents are still visible.

From the centre of the nave a staircase leads down to the crypt where the body of the saint is preserved. Another stairway leads up to the spot where the stone coffin containing the remains was discovered in 1850 under the high altar. The large blocks

of stone show how much care had been taken to provide a secure and secret place for the safe keeping of the great treasure.

The crypt is decorated with paintings in monochrome executed in 1862. They represent the incidents in the life of the saint which have already been described, and the subjects will be easily recognized.

The body of Sta. Chiara, clothed in a black habit, is shown behind a glass window.

Cappella dei Pellegrini

This is the oratory attached to a hospital for the entertainment of pilgrims who come to visit the tomb of St. Francis.

The chapel is dedicated in the names of St. James Major, the patron of pilgrims, and of St. Anthony the Abbot.

The frescoes on the outside wall and in the interior are by two artists, Matteo da Gualdo (work dated 1468) and Pier Antonio da Foligno, called Mezzastris (working as late as 1482).

The works of Matteo da Gualdo show the influence of Boccati da Camerino, while

Mezzastris was a scholar of Benozzo Gozzoli.

Neither Matteo nor Mezzastris were competent artists. They take their place with Melanzio, who painted at Montefalco, and other secondary masters of the Umbrian school. Such painting has, however, some interest as illustrating how even in small mountain villages a succession of painters found occupation and reward.

The fresco on the outside wall above the door is much damaged. It is attributed by some to Matteo da Gualdo and by others to Mezzastris.

The subject is Christ Enthroned, holding a book with the inscription, "I am the way and the truth."

Round about is a glory of angels; eight of them are playing instruments, four others hold scrolls with inscriptions. On either side are the titular saints. Only half of the figure of St. James remains; he carries a pilgrim's staff. On the right is St. Anthony the Abbot. Round the corner of the building to the left are traces of a huge figure of St. Christopher.

In the interior. On the wall opposite to the entrance above the altar, Matteo da Gualdo painted a Madonna and Child enthroned with Saints James and Anthony. In the lunette above, which is pierced by a window, is the Annunciation, with angels singing praises from the earth and from the heavens. At the side of the Virgin the artist has placed a little lion, which may have a symbolical reference to the Lion of Judah.

The pictures on the side walls are by Mezzastris. On the right, on entering, is the story of the miraculous help given by St. James Major to some pilgrims on their way to Compostella.

The son of a certain German, while journeying to the shrine along with his parents, was wrongfully accused of theft. He was condemned to be hanged, but the saint coming to the help of the innocent youth placed his hand under the feet of the young man, who by means of this invisible support remained uninjured. This is the subject of the scene nearest to the door.

The landscape behind the figures is



A COURTYARD IN ASSISI

curiously conventional. The colour of the mountains is a vivid pink, while the objects in the foreground are grotesquely out of proportion. No attempt is made to tell the story dramatically. The bereaved parents, discovering after several days that their son still lived, hastened to the judge who had condemned him. At this point historians differ as to what took place. According to some, the parents, finding the judge at table, related the marvellous news that they had found their son alive. The judge mockingly replied, "If your son liveth so do those fowls in the dish," and the roasted birds immediately rose up before him alive. According to others the parents urged the innocence of their son before the sceptical judge, who replied, "I should as soon believe that these fowls were alive as in the innocency of the young man." At the same moment the fowls rose to prove his error.

The figures seated at table are fairly natural, but the standing figures and those in movement are particularly wooden.

Two scenes from the life of St. Anthony the Abbot are on the wall to the left of

entrance, illustrating the charity of the saint.

Nearest to the altar, we see St. Anthony distributing alms to the blind, the sick, and the lame. The figure of the old hermit is a dignified presentment, and the beggars express their eagerness and gratitude with natural gestures. In the background is a rudimentary landscape.

The next scene describes how food was miraculously provided for the saint. Six animals, intended possibly to represent camels, burdened with provisions, kneel down before St. Anthony, who is seated at the door of a church. The monks grouped round him raise their hands in astonishment or fold them in prayer.

In the vaulting of the roof are four figures, bishops and cardinals or other dignitaries of the Church. It has been assumed that they represent the four Latin doctors of the Church, but Canon Elisei, who has written a pamphlet upon the chapel, thinks that the figures have a closer connection with the subjects illustrated on the walls. He identifies the Pope as Leo III., who

authenticated the existence of the body of St. James at Comostella. The bishop to the left is St. Isidore of Seville, who wrote upon the preaching of the Apostle in Spain. The other bishop is St. Augustine, the eulogizer of St. Anthony the Abbot, and the cardinal is S. Bonaventura, canonized in 1482, the author of a treatise upon the life of the religious. Above the door of entrance is the figure of Christ surrounded by kneeling angels. On the left is St. James; on the right, St. Anthony and the young saint Ansano, who holds his lungs in his hand. S. Ansano is the patron of those who suffer from pulmonary affections.

PART II

Orvieto

PART II — ORVIETO

CHAPTER I

HISTORY OF THE TOWN

ORVIETO stands on the site of the ancient Volsinii, one of the richest and most powerful cities of the Etruscan confederation. Hostilities between the Volsinians and Romans began in 362 B.C., and continued over a period of nearly one hundred years. The citizens of the Etruscan town had become famous for their wealth, and for their luxurious and effeminate habits. They had ceased even to trouble themselves, it was said, with the burdens of ruling, and allowed the government of the commonwealth to be managed by slaves. They shared in the general defeat of the Etruscans at the Vadimonian Lake in 310 B.C., and were finally subjugated by

the Romans in 280 B.C. The conquerors were amazed with many of the appliances of civilization which they found, and Pliny repeats the statement that not less than two thousand statues were carried off by the Romans from this city alone. The inhabitants took refuge on the shores of the Lake of Bolsena, and there a new Volsinii grew up; while a Roman town gradually arose on the ruins of the Etruscan city, and was called Urbsvetus, of which the name Orvieto is a corruption.

The number of tombs in the neighbourhood, and the large collection of works of art derived from them, are abundant evidence of the size and importance of the Etruscan city, which must have existed for five or six hundred years. Very few and only insignificant traces remain of the Roman dominion.

The history of Orvieto in the middle ages resembles that of many other Italian communes. It is a history of the struggle between the discordant elements which made up the population of that confined space — a walled city. The citizens from an early

period were divided by opposing interests, due to differences in race, with the consequent differences in political and religious sympathies.

The commune, originally governed by consuls, was Guelph in sympathy, and as a rule kept upon friendly terms with the papal power. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the town succeeded in mastering many of the neighbouring feudal lords, and compelled them to become citizens within her walls. Thus were sown the seeds of an endless political and religious division in the town, for the incomers were generally Ghibelline and imperial in their politics, and anti-papal, perhaps even heretical, in their religious sympathies. In order to repress these tendencies, Bishop Riccardo from 1171 to 1201 carried on a vigorous crusade in the town against heresy, and many of the inhabitants were tortured and put to death. This, however, did not prove an effective means of procuring permanent peace, and the creation of a new officer, a podestà, for that purpose in 1199 was equally unsuccessful. The factions were known as

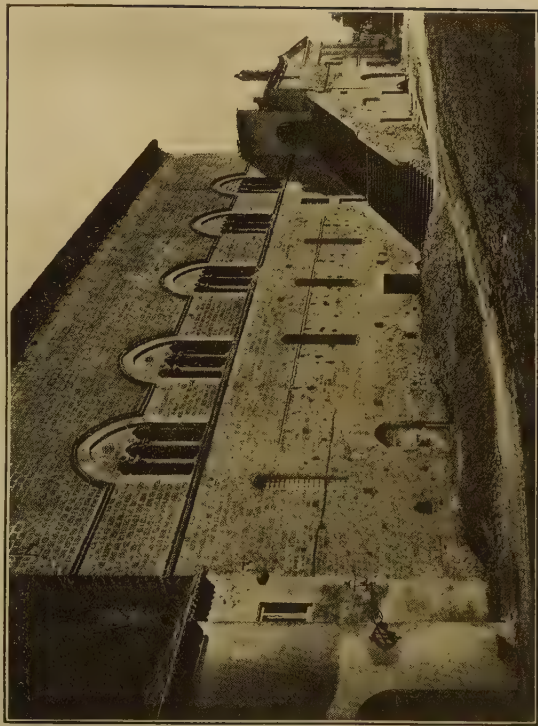
"Ecclesiastici," and "Eretici," rather than as Guelphs and Ghibellines, and the balance of power lay with the ecclesiastical party.

Alliances were frequently made with Florence, and the various forms of government adopted by that republic were copied by the Orvietans.

The two chief families were the Monaldeschi, whose sympathies were with the Guelphs, and the Filippeschi, adherents of the Ghibelline party. Continual dissensions arose between the two factions. But in spite of this disunion the commune grew in power and wealth.

It was a favourite retreat with the Popes, who enriched the city with several fine palaces; and the citizens erected large municipal buildings as residences for their podestàs and captains of the people. The massive and imposing dwellings raised by private individuals, which line the deserted streets of the modern city, are further evidence of its former prosperity.

In the Piazza del Duomo alone, we have a group of four important buildings, the outcome of the religious enthusiasm of the



THE BISHOP'S PALACE

citizens, and of the relations maintained by the town with the papal see.

The oldest building is probably the Bishop's Palace, behind the Cathedral, on the right. It is said to have been founded in 977, and was certainly enlarged and restored by Adrian IV. in 1150. Almost all traces, however, of the mediæval building have been removed by the restorations made in the sixteenth century.

Adjoining, and nearer to the piazza, is the Palace of the Popes, commonly called the Palazzo Soliano, and now used as a museum.

It was built in 1297 by order of Boniface VIII. for the reception of the pontifical ambassadors, and was given by the commune to the Opera del Duomo in 1534.

Close beside it is the Hospital established for the poor in 1197 by a priest; and facing the Duomo stands an imposing building, the Palace of the Opera del Duomo, built in 1359.

It is astonishing to find so many splendid erections in a small hill city, but both municipal and private palaces sink into

insignificance beside the magnitude of the work of the Duomo. This cathedral church owes its existence to an outburst of popular piety and enthusiasm aroused by the miracle of Bolsena. The first stone was laid by Nicholas IV. in 1290, and the citizens, imposing a tax upon themselves to defray the cost, joined with the dwellers in the suburbs and surrounding districts, in long-continued efforts to bring the great work to completion.

Another centre of the ancient municipal life is to be found in the now desolate Piazza del Popolo, or Mercato, which lies on the other side of the Corso.

The massive and imposing Palazzo del Capitano, or del Popolo, one of the oldest municipal buildings of the middle ages, is said to have been erected by Adrian IV. in 1156 and restored in 1255. The upper story has six beautiful windows, and the entrance is reached by a fine flight of stairs leading from the piazza.

Another large but unfinished municipal building is the Palazzo Comunale, in the Piazza Vittorio Emmanuele, erected in the



PALAZZO DEL CAPITANO

beginning of the thirteenth century, and now used as the Municipio. The Renaissance façade was added in 1524. Such are some of the evidences that still remain of the prosperity and vigorous life to be found in Orvieto in the thirteenth century. With the coming of the Emperor Henry VII. into Italy in 1311, the hopes of the Ghibelline party were revived, and the Filippeschi made an attempt to deliver Orvieto into the hands of the imperial forces. The plot was discovered, and for three days during the month of August, 1312, the opposing factions of the citizens fought in the streets. No less than four hundred of the party of the Filippeschi were killed, and the remnant were driven out of the city. Three hundred of the palaces, houses, and towers in the Via di Pusterla, belonging to the conquered faction, were burned to the ground and have never been rebuilt.

The family of the Monaldeschi, thus left without a rival, increased in power, and within the space of twenty years the various members of this family had the supreme control of the government entirely in their hands.

Their power, however, received a serious check from the factions which arose among the different branches of the family. These branches were distinguished from one another by the names of the "Stag," the "Viper," and the "Dog," and the peace of the town was continually disturbed by their disorders. The population declined rapidly under the effects of civil war and bad government. It is stated that in 1380 there were three thousand families living within the walls, and in the space of seventeen years there were less than a third of that number, while in 1424 the population counted only two hundred households. It is easy to understand how this state of things was brought about when we read that Berardo Monaldeschi in 1386, with the help of a company of Breton mercenaries, attacked a certain quarter of the town and put to death three thousand people.

In 1345 there was a brief interregnum in the rule of the Monaldeschi, due to the conquest of the city by the papal legate, Cardinal Alborno. This able and warlike prelate succeeded in making peace among

the citizens. He re-established the Studio Generale, a school which had existed since 1013, but had been suppressed by the Monaldeschi. The cardinal also rebuilt the Fortress of La Rocca, at the northeast entrance of the town. The work, however, was interrupted by the death of the legate in 1367, and the new construction was rapidly pulled down by the opponents of the papal party. The site is now converted into a public garden, and commands a fine view of the valley of the Tiber.

During the next half century the government of the city underwent many transformations. Under the pontificates of Boniface IX. (1389-1404) and Gregory XII. (1406-1417), Orvieto was ruled by papal legates. In 1414 it was conquered by King Ladislaus of Naples, and fell under the rule of the military captain, Sforza. It was restored to the Church by the Perugian condottiere, Braccio, but was once more mastered by the "Viper" branch of the Monaldeschi in 1437. Finally the exhausted city, emptied of inhabitants through the continual warfare and succeeding pestilences,

was reduced in 1460 to the absolute dominion of the Pope. Since then Orvieto has ceased to have any history of importance, and became part of the kingdom of Italy in 1860.

CHAPTER II

ETRUSCAN ORVIETO — THE NECROPOLIS

THE Etruscan necropolis, on the north-western slopes outside of the gates, may be reached on foot from the Porta Maggiore, or by carriage from the Porta Cassia on the road leading to the railway station.

By the carriage route we reach first the tombs discovered in 1874, which are under the care of a painstaking and intelligent custodian, who was present during the first excavations.

The situation is very beautiful, with cliffs rising steeply behind, and the wide stretch of the valley of the Paglia in front.

These sepulchres are only a small portion of a vast cemetery lying at the foot of the cliffs, and encircling the entire hill, a veritable city of tombs, to which the dead were brought

from the houses of the living in the town above. Here dwellings of stone were built for the spirits. Shrines were raised in the midst of the dead, and offerings made to those deities who presided over fertility and generation.

The tombs are of an early date, probably before the sixth century B.C. They are not caves hollowed out of the rocks, but low massive buildings arranged side by side and back to back, like houses in the streets of a town. They stand now, overgrown with grass and wild flowers, in the midst of vineyards and olive gardens.

The walls, built of large stones neatly laid and without mortar, are about nine feet high. The masonry of the roof has been dressed into the form of a vault. The tall narrow doorways are without any decoration, and have simply the name of the owner of the tomb carved upon the flat lintel. There are outer and inner doors, with a small vestibule between, which may have been used as a sleeping-place by the relations when they wished to discover the will of the dead.

It was part of the belief of those who

practised the cult of the grave that the dead could exert their influence upon any one sleeping near their abode, and could reveal to them in dreams future events, or even remedies against sickness. There was a constant desire also to propitiate the spirits, and in early times among the Greeks, slaves were sacrificed at funerals in order that the dead might be provided with attendants in the world beyond.

These blocks of tombs at Orvieto have at each corner a small chamber, in which skeletons, both male and female, were discovered. It is supposed that these are the remains of servants and dependants.

A cippus of stone, generally in the shape of a pine cone, and supposed to have a phallic significance, was placed upon the roof. Inside the tombs the chamber beyond the second pair of doors is furnished for the most part with stone benches, upon which the bodies of the dead were laid. There are never more than three benches, nor less than two. A large number of vases of *Bucchero*, and some painted Grecian vases of archaic style, were found when the tombs

were discovered, as well as some ornaments and a few bronze weapons. All the contents of these sepulchres relate to a period before the sixth century B. C.

From this necropolis we pass to the adjoining farm in the direction of the Porta Maggiore to the tombs discovered in 1896, one of which has been preserved exactly as it was found. These sepulchres have been buried probably for centuries under the earth and débris which has fallen upon them from the higher ground above, and the entrance doors now seem to lead into caves cut out in the hillside. But these tombs are, like the rest of the necropolis, built of slabs of masonry, the roof being formed of converging blocks. They were, as a rule, closed by two stone doors, the inner being hermetically sealed.

In one tomb we can still see the bones of the two owners stretched upon the stone beds. A gold ring has dropped from the finger gone to dust, and hanging on the walls are a number of cups and plates of common earthenware and bronze. On the floor beside the benches are large vessels

for oil and wine. Some of the small vases on the walls may have contained perfumes which were supposed to ward off the final dissolution of the body. Did the relations who placed the food and the drink in these vessels believe that the shades dwelt in the narrow chamber and suffered hunger and thirst, or were they following an ancient burial custom which had only a symbolical significance? However that may have been, we know that they did hold funeral feasts, and make offerings to the dead at stated periods, for outside of the doorways of many of these tombs quantities of the remains of previous feasts were discovered, such as cups and plates, bones of birds, fishes, and beasts, and many egg-shells. As we turn from these vases and vessels, so much like our own familiar pottery, and look out at the landscape, which can have changed comparatively little in two thousand years, we are inclined to feel that our likenesses to these far-off Etruscans are perhaps greater than our differences.

Those who desire to return to the town on foot may be recommended to take the

pleasant path above the necropolis, which leads under the bastions of the cliffs. On the way we pass a little chapel with a Crucifixion painted upon the natural rock called the "Crocefisso del Tufo," and enter the town by the Porta Maggiore.

Those who visit the Etruscan sepulchres have the good fortune to find themselves led out from the towns into the surrounding fields and vineyards, and sometimes farther still into the heart of the woodland.

The tombs at Poggio Roccio will repay the traveller, not only by the intrinsic interest of their paintings, but by the beauty of the scenery through which he must pass. The excursion by carriage occupies two or three hours. The keys of the tombs must be obtained in Orvieto. Leaving the city by the Porta Romana, we descend the hill in a southwesterly direction, following the road to Viterbo. As we climb the slopes on the opposite side, passing the Campo Santo, we have a clear view of the hill city of Orvieto, with the cathedral and other buildings massed sharply against the sky.

From this point of view, the rocks and

walls surrounding the city rise with striking effect above the olives and poplars which clothe the lower slopes.

Beyond the Campo Santo, the road passes the ancient Convent of Santa Trinita, which contains two frescoes by Pinturicchio.

On the right wall is the Madonna and Child, with SS. Joseph and Bonaventura on the left, and SS. John and Jerome on the right. Angels hold a crown over the head of Mary. Round the picture is a circle of cherub heads, and in the background there are traces of a landscape, but the fresco is now much damaged.

On the opposite wall is a figure of S. Bernardino of Siena, with four other saints.

S. Bernardino carries a scroll with the words, "*Manifestavi nomen tuum hominibus*," recalling the special mission of the saint to preach the Kingdom of Christ. He tried to persuade his hearers everywhere to take down their own ensigns, public and private, and put up in their place the monogram of Jesus.

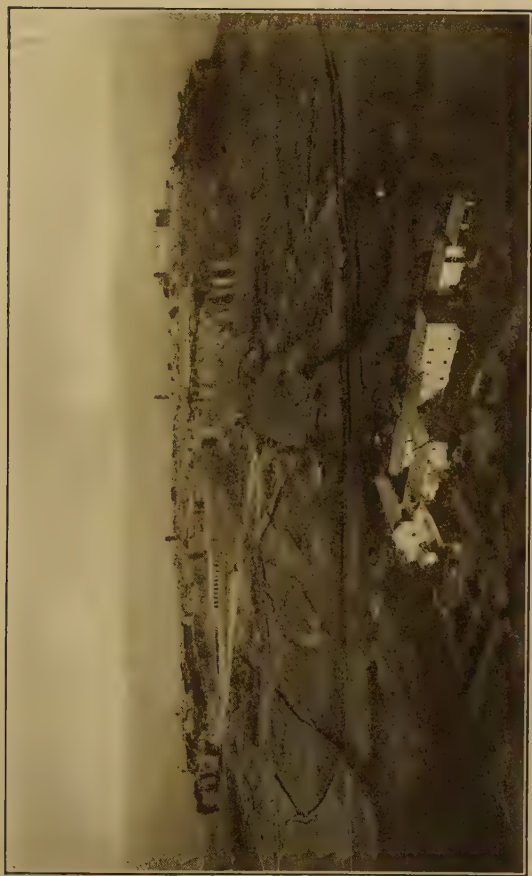
On the right are St. Anthony of Padua and St. Peter; on the left St. Louis of Tou-

louse and St. Paul. An angel holds a crown over the head of S. Bernardino, and the figures are encircled by cherub heads. There is a pleasant landscape, and the whole forms a quiet, solemn picture with a touch of Umbrian sentiment.

The picturesque cloisters are decorated with inferior frescoes.

Shortly afterwards the road ascends more steeply, and we pass a great fall of rocks called "Sasso Tagliato," where it is said a way was miraculously opened. Higher up the hill, are the gates of the villa "Buon Viaggio," where Pius IX. once paid a visit during his sojourn at Orvieto. The road then crosses a bridge, known as the Ponte Marchese, with a monument upon it to a Gonzaga cardinal. Soon after this the carriage must be left, and we pass on foot along a grassy path through chestnut woods to the entrance to the tombs, which were discovered by Signor Golini in 1863. In these tombs we see evidence of the conflicting influences which affected the Etruscan painters.

On the one hand they were powerfully



A VIEW OF ORVIETO

influenced by Greek art, which reached them through the medium of the painted vases imported into Etruria in large numbers. They took their conceptions from the Greeks, and copied the idealized forms of the Hellenic artists.

On the other hand they were strongly drawn by their own natural tendency towards realism, and by their desire to represent things as they saw them, unrestrained by any refinements of a cultivated taste. These paintings belong to the later period of Etruscan art. Those of the second tomb date, it is supposed, from about the year 400 B.C. The system of colouring is not conventional, as in more archaic work; the faces are individualized by different expressions, and there is a good deal of life and movement in the figures of the animals.

These paintings are, however, only mediocre works of art, and their chief claim upon our interest is the life-like picture which they give us of the Etruscan people, of the customs and habits of a great civilization. We see them at their feasts, at their funerals,

at their sports, with every detail of costume minutely depicted. The first tomb, which is the less well preserved of the two, is known as the "Tomba delle Due Bighe," the tomb of the two chariots.

On entering the chamber, we see a great stone sarcophagus with its lid removed standing against the wall opposite to the entrance. Inside it there are several cups and vessels and the remains of a skeleton.

The roof is cut out of the natural rock in imitation of masonry, and a low bench runs round the room.

The paintings, which are much damaged, represent the feasts and sports held at the funeral in honour of the dead. There is the same incongruous mixture of gloomy and joyful images, of hideous demons and gaily dressed revellers, as we find on the cinerary chests.

Above the entrance door there are two long striped serpents, emblems of the underworld, perhaps regarded as protectors of the tomb. A similar pair are painted upon the opposite wall, and a few traces remain upon the doorposts, of what were once the figures

of brutal-looking demons, the Charuns, or messengers of death.

The scenes on the side walls, on the other hand, show us people in the midst of the pleasures of this world, feasting and playing, to all appearance absolutely unconscious of their surroundings.

On the wall of entrance, to the right and left, are fragments of chariots drawn by two horses, probably intended to represent the races and games held at the funeral. In some of the painted tombs we shall see that the soul is represented as journeying to the underworld in a horse-chariot. Such representations are easily distinguished from the funeral sports by the presence of the genii who accompany the spirit on its migration. Here in this tomb everything indicates that the people are on this earth and of the earth.

The banquet is painted upon the right wall. Little can now be seen except the lower part of the couches, with a pair of pigeons seated upon the footstools; and in the upper part of the picture are some of the heads of the revellers. Two of these are

young men with handsome faces of Greek type, wearing white mantles and crowns of leaves upon their heads. The names are inscribed upon the walls beside the banqueters, who seem to be in eager conversation. On the opposite wall are fragments showing that the scene of the feast was continued round the chamber, and at one side the figures of musicians can still be traced. On the wall opposite to the entrance were formerly representations of two warriors, possibly the owners of the tomb.

The second tomb, which is close at hand, has well preserved and important pictures. The chamber is divided by a partition, which stands out in the centre of the room, and is used by the artist as a line of division between the subjects represented upon either side.

In the chamber on the left hand we have scenes of preparation for a banquet of a purely earthly and material nature. In the chamber on the right are pictures of the shades partaking of unearthly food in the presence of the rulers of the underworld.

Beginning with the division on the left

of the entrance wall, we see in the first place the carcasses of animals, an ox with its head severed, a kid, and a bird hung up as in a butcher's shop, and we are spared none of the ugly realistic details. On the adjoining wall a number of busy servants prepare the various dishes for the banquet. The first figure is that of a man cutting up a piece of meat on a table; next to him is a woman in a short tight tunic, superintending the arrangement of various articles of food, among which fruits and eggs are conspicuous. These provisions were used especially at the funeral feasts, probably because of the symbolical meaning attached to them. Grapes were sacred to Dionysos, who presided, not only over the new growth of spring upon the earth, but over the quickening of the seeds hidden under the ground in winter. For the same reason the pomegranate, a fruit which lays bare its seeds, was consecrated to Persephone. Eggs were used as an emblem of second life or resurrection. There are servants grouped about this table with the fruits, some carrying baskets, others playing upon a kind of double pipe, to enliven the

labours of the kitchen. At the end of the wall is a servant kneading at the three-legged table; on the adjoining wall we find the cook bending over the furnace, while another man, furnished with a kind of mallet, attends to the contents of a large vessel.

On the wall of the partition the servants are seen busily carrying the dishes to the banqueting-hall. One man, who seems to play the part of major-domo, beckons authoritatively to the servants behind. On the face of the partition is a little monkey tied to a tree, said by some to be a symbol of the vanity of human life; but by others it is regarded as one of the realistic accessories introduced to heighten the natural appearance of a company gathered together for a festival.

The scenes on the other side of the partition represent the arrival of one newly dead at the banquet of the king and queen of the underworld. The paintings are either by another hand, or the artist has adopted a more refined and less realistic style of painting to suit the change in his subject.

Beginning on the wall of entrance, to the right, we see the figure of a young man standing in a chariot drawn by two horses. Behind the horses runs a winged female genius, or Lasa, holding a scroll in her hand, the record of the life of the dead youth. It was believed that the attendant genii, or guardian spirits, accompanied human beings through their lives, and at death underwent a transformation into snakes like the souls themselves. This may account for the pair of knotted serpents which the Lasa has twisted round her waist.

The scene of the feast to which the new arrival is hastening began on the adjoining wall, but nothing now remains except a fragment of a couch and some heads with the names inscribed beside them. The paintings on the wall at the end of the chamber are, however, better preserved, and the figures of two men lying upon couches with drinking-cups in their hands can be clearly seen.

A cloudy background is painted behind the heads of the men as though to indicate some celestial region, and at the same time,

with a curious mixture of ideas, a number of candelabra with lighted candles are placed beside the couches, and two domestic pets, one like a cat called "*Krankru*," and an ape or dog called "*Kurpu*," disport themselves upon the footstools. Two musicians with instruments stand beside the couches.

The place of honour on the partition wall is given to the majestic group of the King and Queen of Hades, sitting upon thrones side by side. Little of the figures remain except the heads, with the words inscribed "*Eita*," the Greek Aïdes, and "*Phersipnai*," the Greek Persephone or Persephoneia. The head of the god is covered with a wolf's skin, and the goddess, who wears earrings and a necklace, has a sceptre crowned by the figure of a little blue bird. There is nothing awful about the appearance of these dread deities. Hades, "the invisible one," and Persephone, "the desolating slayer," are here represented as a comely and gracious pair, sharing with mortals in their taste for jewels and other ornaments. Such figures are no doubt a reflection of the growing desire, with the progress of the race, to

present a less gloomy view of the soul's existence after death, and to depict the possibility of a blissful life, for some at least, in the world beyond.

CHAPTER III

THE MUSEUMS

THE principal Etruscan collections are those of the Museo Civico, and of the Conte Faina in the Palazzo Faina. A small collection in the town, belonging to Signor Mancini, is also courteously shown to visitors.

Part of the municipal collection is still preserved in the Opera del Duomo, in the southwestern corner of the Piazza del Duomo. On the ground floor are the following exhibits:—

No. 600. A column of pyramidal shape with the words in large Etruscan letters “Tinia, Tinscvil,” that is, “Sacred to Tinia,” the Etruscan deity corresponding with the Greek Zeus.

From this inscription it is supposed that

this stone was either an altar or, perhaps more probable, a stone case for holding the pole or log of wood, the primitive symbol of Zeus among the ancient peoples of Italy.

Stone cippi, some of which have inscriptions. These stone monuments were used to mark the place of sepulchres and to signify that the earth was sacred. They were placed on the roofs or above the doorways of the tombs, corresponding in number to the dead buried within. Some of the cippi are to be seen in their original position at the necropolis on the northern slopes of the hill.

No. 845. A stela, or sepulchral monument with a bas-relief, probably representing the dead person. This style of monument is rare in the district, and is archaic in character.

The statue of a goddess, known as the Venus of Cannicella. This statue was found in 1884, in the necropolis under the cliffs, to the south of the city. "Turan," the Etruscan Venus, venerated as a manifestation of the fertile and reproductive forces of nature, was probably worshipped at a shrine raised

in the midst of the cemetery. Some of the votive offerings were discovered in the débris, and are now laid round about the statue. The figure of the goddess is an interesting example of the influences which affected the Etruscans in the representation of religious images. At first purely Oriental forms were adopted. The deities were often figured with the heads of animals and with wings. But as the influence of Greek civilization spread, the Asiatic types were replaced by more gracious and natural conceptions of the human form, imitated from Hellenic models.

The head of this Venus is like the archaic primitive goddess of the East, with heavy features and plaits of hair arranged in rigid parallel lines. On the other hand, the body is in a different and much freer style, and resembles the work of the later Greek sculptors.

Fragments of statues in terra-cotta, the decorations of an Etruscan temple, discovered in the Via Cassia. They are numbered 721, 722, 723, 724.

The Etruscan temples seem to have been



ETRUSCAN STATUARY

informed by the same general principles as the Doric style of buildings in Greece.

The tympanum of the Etruscan temple, however, unlike the Grecian model, did not rest directly upon the pillars, but projected in front of them like a balcony, and was therefore incapable of supporting the weight of a group of statues in solid stone.

The Etruscan architects showed their usual ingenuity and their readiness to sacrifice artistic requirements to practical utility by the substitution of terra-cotta for stone, and of bas-relief for sculpture in the round.

The terra-cotta figures in high relief were attached by nails to the building, and when covered with paint presented the appearance of a group of statuary. The fragments of terra-cotta here include masks and parts of statues of satyrs, fauns, and nymphs, indicating perhaps that the Temple was dedicated to the Etruscan Bacchus or "Phupluns."

In the same room there is also an Etruscan tomb, which has been brought from the necropolis lying to the north of the city. It is a good example of the type of tombs

built of stones without cement. The chamber is furnished with two stone benches upon which the dead were laid. The roof is formed of blocks of stone so placed that each one projects beyond the other until they meet at the top. The projecting ends are sawn off, and the effect is that of a roughly made vault.

In two of the other rooms of the building are careful reproductions of the paintings in the tombs of Settecammuni at Poggio Roccolo near to Orvieto, which may be studied with advantage both by those who intend to visit the tombs and those who cannot do so, as they are interesting examples of Etruscan painting. They present to us a realistic and vivid picture of some of the customs, habits, and costumes of this great race of people.

Leaving the Opera del Duomo we cross the piazza to the Palazzo Soliano, or Palazzo del Papa, where is the collection of Etruscan pottery and bronzes.

The pottery may be divided roughly into three classes:—

1. The *Bucchero*, or black ware, the national pottery of Etruria.

2. Painted vases of archaic style, with black designs upon red.

3. Painted vases of more perfect style, with red designs upon black.

A large number of the designs upon the pottery relate to the myths in connection with the worship of Dionysos.

We know that in Roman times Bacchus was most renowned in places, such as Orvieto, where the light volcanic soil was especially adapted to the cultivation of the vine. It is possible, therefore, that there may have been a special cult of the deity in this district in Etruscan times.

Upon the Bucchero ware, and upon the pottery of an early date generally, the symbols relating to Dionysos are those of a primitive people, worshippers of the forces of nature. He is conceived of as an earth-god, and an embodiment of reproductive force, to be expressed not in human form, but by the trunk of a vine, or by some other rude emblem of fertility.

The symbols of this god which appear upon the Bucchero ware in this museum are all associated with the life of the field and

the forest. Such are the panthers and lions, beasts of the forests; the goats and rams, emblems of the fertile fields; the scrolls of vine leaves, and clusters of fruit, and the ever green ivy.

On entering the hall we find a collection of black *Bucchero* ware, the national pottery of the Etruscans, in Cases I., III., V., VII., and VIII. The black colour was obtained by baking the clay in a covered kiln, and subjecting it to a thick black smoke. We may trace the development of this pottery from various examples in these cases. The first attempts are rude in form and of a dull greyish colour, and these nondescript vessels gradually give place to better formed specimens which are both smoother and more lustrous.

The earliest examples are to be found on the upper shelf of Case VII., nearest to the door. The *Bucchero* ware dates from the end of the seventh century B.C., and the Etruscan artists seem to have borrowed the designs of many Eastern nations. Drinking-vessels, cups, and vases of various shapes are ornamented with stamped designs of

fantastic animals from Oriental art. Veiled women's heads, with the hair arranged in rigid lines, are noticeable among the animal forms. These heads are believed to signify the dwellers in the underworld, and they appear in connection with several Dionysiac emblems such as bunches of grapes, panthers, and goats. On the second shelf of Case VII. there is a fine piece of *Bucchero* ware with the design so familiar in Oriental art of two animals, one on each side of a sacred tree.

Case III. has some large bronze sacrificial vessels used for pouring the libation over the head of the victim. In this same case are vessels of *Bucchero* in fantastic shapes. One has a bearded head of Bacchus in front, and ends in a ram's head, the ram being one of the symbols of the god. A similar form was called "*Rhyton*" by the Greeks, and was the wine jug used by the satyrs and other followers of Dionysos.

Vases in the shape of a bent leg also occur in reference to the second birth of the wine god. Semele, whose likeness was the surface of the earth, died smitten with the lightning heat when her son Dionysos, the

vine, was born. His father Zeus, figured by the sky from whence clouds and thunderbolts come, hid the child in his thigh until he should be fit for this second birth.

In Cases V., VI., X., XI., and XII. we find examples of painted vases both of archaic and of later style. These Greek vases have been found by the thousand in tombs of all periods later than the middle of the sixth century B.C. The greatest number were importations from Greece, and only a comparatively small number were made in Etruria in imitation of the Greek models. Such imitations are easily distinguished by characteristic details in costume, and by the realistic scenes of Inferno, with the grimacing demons and furies peculiar to Etruscan mythology.

Painted vases of the archaic style with black designs upon red. There are a number of drinking-cups, principally of two forms, the *Kylix*, a flat shallow cup with two horizontal handles, and the *Kantharos*, a slightly deeper cup with handles rising above the bowl. Both kinds of vessels were used in the Dionysiac festivals. The *Kantharos* was



AN ETRUSCAN VASE

sacred to Dionysos, and the *Kylix* is the cup most frequently used by his followers. Several of these cups have enormous eyes painted upon them, in conjunction with bunches of grapes and figures of satyrs and nymphs. It has been suggested that these vessels were presents made by the bridegroom, and that the eyes were an allusion to the unveiling of the bride.

In Case X. is a large amphora with designs in black, representing the nuptial procession of Thetis and Peleus, who are seated in a chariot drawn by four horses, and preceded by Dionysos and Hermes.

In Cases XI. and XII. there are a few examples of the later style with red figures upon a black ground, dating from the middle of the fifth century and onwards. They are chiefly in the form of drinking-bowls or wine jugs, with the figures of satyrs and dancing women, Silenus on his ass, and other subjects relating to the worship of Dionysos.

The Faina Collection

A fine Etruscan collection derived from the excavations made in the neighbourhood

of Orvieto and at Chiusi is to be seen in the Palazzo Faina (opposite to the Duomo), open to visitors through the courtesy of the owner, Conte Faina.

In the first hall, ranged along the floor, are twelve terra-cotta cinerary chests from the neighbourhood of Chiusi, with sculptured figures upon the lids and reliefs upon the sides of the chests. The sculptures upon the lids are realistic portraits of the dead represented in the midst of the enjoyment of life, eating, drinking, talking, or playing with their ornaments. The subjects of the reliefs below are in sharp contrast with the serenely contented men and women on the lids. They illustrate, as a rule, some tragic scene of combat, slaughter, murder, or sacrifice. The fate of mortals is shown to be in the hands of the gods, who make use of death as a punishment for impiety or presumption.

No. 3 has a sleeping figure upon the lid, and on the side of the chest is a drinking vessel, or *Kantharos*, sacred to Dionysos; on either side of it is a dolphin. The dolphin is probably here as an emblem of the pro-

ductive force of the sea, and hence its connection with Dionysos.

No. 4 has on the lid the figure of a beautiful woman resting gracefully upon her left elbow, which is supported by a pillow. The relief upon the chest represents a marine deity, figured as a woman down to the waist, and ending in twisted serpent tails. Figures of marine deities are common among the Etruscans, whose wealth depended greatly upon their maritime commerce. These figures do not correspond closely with any of the creations of Greek mythology. They generally appear in combat with men, or threatening them with disaster, and seem to imply the terrors and dangers which await those who go down to the sea in ships.

No. 12. The recumbent statue of a man has a saucer-shaped bowl in his hand, resembling the Roman "*Patera*." In place of a handle this drinking-vessel has a hollow-raised boss in the centre, into which the fingers could be inserted. The relief on the chest represents two warriors attacked by a half-clothed figure armed with a plough. This may represent the mysterious plough-

man who appeared suddenly in the battle of Marathon and assisted the Greeks by killing many of the barbarians with his implement.

Several of the bas-reliefs on the smaller urns with sleeping figures upon the lids have the same subject. They are identical, and to all appearance have been cast from the same mould. Chests of this kind were probably kept in stock, and the lids with portraits of the dead were done on commission.

The bas-relief of No. 11 represents the fratricidal combat between Eteokles and Polyneikes, the joint rulers of Thebes. This relief is a good example of the Etruscan treatment of a Greek theme. The dire result of the conflict, and the certain end in store for the brothers, is signified by the introduction of a fury, or Lasa, the messenger of death, who stretches her arms towards the unhappy pair.

No. 14 has a touching and simple scene of farewell between the living and the dead. Two persons stand before a door with their hands clasped, and beside each one is a fury holding a torch.

On the floor to the right of the entrance are a number of the strange cinerary vases called "*canopi*," with lids in the shape of human heads. They are found most commonly in the neighbourhood of Chiusi, and date from the eighth and seventh centuries **B.C.** They are interesting links in the history of the development of the art of sculpture in the round, among the Etruscans. It is evident that sincere efforts were made to secure a likeness in the rudely shaped head; in order to increase the human resemblance, these *canopi* are often placed upon a seat of bronze or stone, and roughly formed arms ornamented with rings and bracelets are attached by means of pegs to the sides of the vase.

The next image shows a still further advance in the power of representation. Here we have the roughly blocked-out figure of a man. The head is movable, and the hollow body was used as a receptacle for the ashes. The gradual development of sculpture from the rude human-headed vase to the full-sized recumbent figure upon the lid of the sarcophagus or chest is fully

illustrated in the museum of Chiusi. *On the shelves* against the walls are a number of pieces of black *Bucchero* ware, some of which, noticeable for the high polish and lustrous finish, came from Castel Giorgio, two miles from Orvieto on the Viterbo road.

Two shallow bowls or *Patera* should be noticed, Nos. 495 and 439. On the shelf to the right of the entrance are a number of terra-cotta masks. Four are of women's faces of a somewhat idealized type, and may represent the attendant invisible spirits, *genii* or *furies*, or they may be personifications of Death.

Nos. 380 and 381 are two masks of hideous demons with large noses, long tusks, and horns on their heads. They can be easily identified from the painted vases as the Etruscan Charun, the messenger of Death, who strikes down his victims with his mallet.

On these shelves there are also a number of small objects of various forms and different materials, votive offerings to the gods who have the destiny of mortals in their keeping. These rudely formed images of bulls, deer, pigs, mothers suckling their babes, apples,

plums, etc., were offered to the powers who presided over the reproductive forces of life. The small terra-cotta figures of men on horseback, and of chariots drawn by horses, which look so like cheap playthings, represented the mysterious journey of the soul to the underworld.

Several of the drinking-cups have illustrations of the rites connected with the Dionysiac worship, and the shelves also contain some phallic emblems, which were probably worn as amulets.

Room II. has a collection of consular and imperial coins.

In Room III. are the bronzes. Case A, on the wall right of entrance, contains a number of objects much restored.

On the top shelf of Case B are several flesh hooks, with six or eight long prongs, sometimes curved and sometimes straight. They were probably used in the sacrifices for taking up or turning the burnt flesh, or possibly for raking together the ashes of the dead on the funeral pyre.

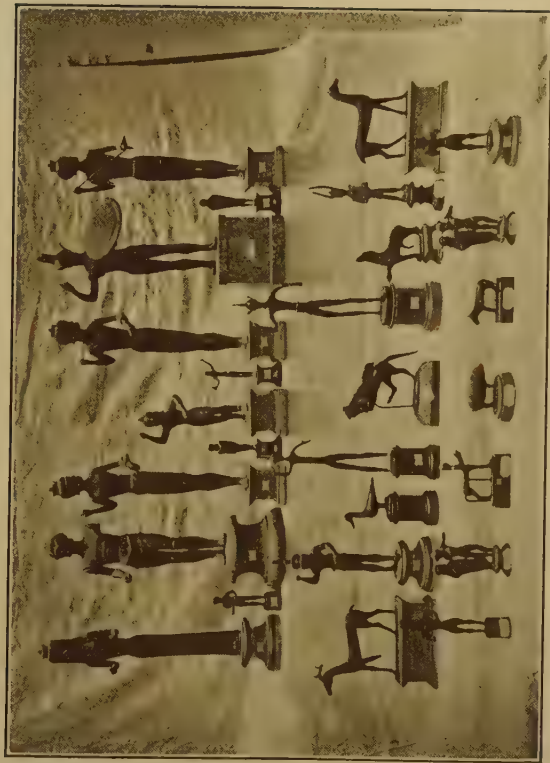
In the same case are several good examples of the graceful candelabra, for which the

Etruscan bronze-workers were famed throughout ancient Europe.

In Case C, on the upper shelf, are three well-preserved helmets, one of iron; also a number of axe-heads, lances, and spears. On the lower shelves are bronze amulets and idols, for the most part obtained from the neighbourhood of Perugia and Bettona.

These small bronze figures were used for various purposes. Some were portable idols, carried about by the worshippers; others were votive offerings made at the shrines of certain deities whose protection and favour were sought. Certain of the statuettes were attached to the bronze candelabra or braziers or other articles of sepulchral furniture. The exaggerated length of limb in several of these figures is an indication of the thoroughly practical character of these people, and of their inclination to place utility before beauty. Vows were no doubt made of offerings of a given size, and these attenuated figures fulfilled the requirements of height at the least possible expenditure of workmanship and material.

In Case E, immediately above the entrance



A GROUP OF ETRUSCAN BRONZES

door, is a bronze brazier with the figures of Hippocampi at the corners. This vessel is provided with feet on wheels, and was probably dragged through the tombs for the purpose of fumigation during the funeral feast. The Hippocampus is the animal most frequently represented as the bearer of the soul to the underworld.

Case D has a miscellaneous collection of vases, strigils, bracelets, rings, pins, and mirrors. These mirrors are polished on one side for reflection, and engraved for ornament upon the other. It is significant of the changes which took place in the habits, and probably in the character of the race, that no mirrors have been found in tombs earlier than the third century B.C., and that after that period they became very abundant. In a cave tomb near Orvieto, which had been used as a place of burial from 240 to 217 B.C., there were found no less than eleven mirrors. The subjects upon them are as a rule mythological, but they never represent scenes of combat or death, and the attendant spirits who appear are of a different order from the hideous demons

introduced in the sepulchral paintings and sculptures. The favourite deities figured on the mirrors, are Turan (or Venus), Phupluns (or Bacchus), Adonis, and Apollo, and the scenes chosen relate, as a rule, to the meeting of lovers, the triumph of beauty, and the exploits of heroes.

Case G contains a number of flints in the shape of spears, arrows, and the like, found near Perugia and Orvieto. It is supposed that the Etruscans attached a superstitious value to these stones, and wore them as amulets.

On the second and third shelves are necklaces, combs, and small glass bottles probably of foreign workmanship, imported into Etruria by the Phœnicians. In the case in the centre of the room are a number of gold ornaments dating from the fourth century B.C.

Room IV. has a number of vases chiefly in the shape of a drinking-cup called by the Greeks *Kylix*, in archaic style with black designs upon a red ground. This style belongs to the fifth and sixth centuries B.C. A large proportion of the examples were probably imported from Greece.

Room V. has an important collection of *Bucchero* ware, illustrating the gradual development of the industry from the primitive coarse vases of blackish grey colour up to the lustrous well-formed pottery of later date.

Room VI. contains painted vases. The large majority of these vases are probably Greek importations, but several are obviously of Etruscan workmanship from the fashion in which grotesque and realistic details are added to the usual Hellenic conceptions of the scene.

Three of the vases, Nos. 19, 20, 21, on the shelf to the left of the entrance, are interesting illustrations of the Etruscan representations of the after-life of the spirit. The technical qualities of the vases are mediocre, and the style of the design poor. They are mounted upon a revolving stand, so that the whole of the figures can be inspected.

No. 19. Here is represented the place of the shades, the region of darkness and terror, guarded by the three-headed *Cerberus* with a serpent tail. The unhappy victim of death, represented as an old man, stands between two brutal figures, *Charuns*, one of

whom is armed with a hammer, and two great serpents raise their heads close beside him. Turning the vase, we see the chariot of the King and Queen of Hades, drawn by two dragons, and this in turn is followed by a fury, or some personification of death, a naked, winged woman holding a scroll with the word "Vanth," death.

No. 21 is almost identical with No. 19.

No. 20 represents a funeral car drawn by two mules, bearing the body to the sepulchre. This is followed by a scene from the underworld to which the spirit of the dead has migrated. The King of Hades appears in his chariot, preceded by a figure of Charun, and followed by a personification of Death holding a closed book, significant of the life that has ended.

The mediæval collection is in the large hall of the Palazzo Soliano.

Under the second window, on the right of the entrance, is a fine piece of carving of Italo-Byzantine workmanship. Peacocks and other birds eating grapes are enclosed by an interlacing scroll. The slab is said to date from the eighth century, and originally

formed part of an altar screen in the Monastery of La Badia, outside of the town.

Against the wall are a number of pieces of the old choir stalls from the Duomo, and a large chorale with figures of the Apostles in intarsiatura. These are the work of Tura dell Ammanato of Siena and of Giovanni Talini, and are dated 1333.

Between the second and third windows to the right are a number of pictures.

No. 38, a Crucifixion, attributed to Margaritone of Arezzo (1236-1313?), represents a painfully contorted figure.

No. 16 is a small easel picture of the Crucifixion, by Spinello Aretino (1333?-1410), with a gilt background.

No. 59 is by Simone Martini (1285?-1344), a Madonna and Child under a trefoil arch. Above Mary's head are the symbols of the Alpha and Omega, and on either side are angels with sceptres and orbs inscribed "*Troni*."

No. 64 is also by Simone Martini. This picture, known as the "Trasimundo Madonna," was painted for Trasimundo, the Bishop of Savona, who is represented kneel-

ing at the left corner of the picture. The four saints are St. Dominic and the Magdalene, in the upper compartments; St. Paul and St. Peter below.

No. 40. A small picture by a follower of Giotto. Madonna is seated in the centre with the Child; on the left are St. Agnes and St. Paul, and on the right a woman saint with a blazing vase, and St. Peter.

Hanging on the wall is a marble basin, for a holy water stoup, by Desiderio da Settignano (1428-1463), the most noted pupil of Donatello. The outside of the basin is carved with a rich design of leaves, and in the inside are fish, crabs, and other dwellers in the sea in high relief.

A magnificent collection of vestments is placed in the cases in the middle of the hall. One of these cases contains a number of mitres, in connection with which it is told that the Bishop of Orvieto was entitled to wear five mitres, significant of the five dioceses over which he presided.

In a case on the right side of the hall is a graceful censer attributed to Benvenuto Cellini (1500-1571) and a silver gilt pastoral

staff, which belonged to Cardinal Simoncelli. Notice also in Case XIV., a quaint little casket of the fourteenth century, of painted wood, interesting on account of the subjects of a romantic and chivalrous character. On the side facing the window is a Fountain of Love, in the centre of the world, "*Il Mondo*," and around the fountain are gathered knights and ladies. On the opposite side of the casket are a number of kings with their names inscribed, amongst which can be distinguished the kings of Portugal, Aragon, France, Sicily, England. In the centre of the hall are several statues of the Pisan school deserving of notice.

Two wooden figures of the Angel Gabriel and of the Virgin were at one time attributed to Friedrich of Freiburg, but are now ascribed to the Pisan school. Traces of colour show that the figures were once painted in a realistic manner. A small marble statue of Madonna and Child, by Nino Pisano, resembles the work of the grandfather Niccolo rather than that of the father Giovanni. It is a pleasant figure with a simple and naïve expression, but it is somewhat spoiled by the

trifling device of making the arms of the Virgin, and the Child's head, movable.

The most notable object in the centre of the hall is, perhaps, the beautiful reliquary made to contain the head of S. Savino. It was made by Ugolino da Maestro Vieri and Vivo da Siena (working in 1337). This graceful and beautiful piece of goldsmith's work was done by the artists as a proof of their ability to undertake the making of the reliquary for the Corporale in the Duomo.

Along the walls of the room are a number of large marble statues of the Apostles and some saints, by sculptors of the sixteenth century. St. Sebastian is the work of Lo Scalza, and St. Matthew is attributed to Giovanni da Bologna. For the most part they are tasteless productions, and have been wisely removed to the museum from the nave of the Duomo.

Under the third window to the left on entering is a small picture by Luca Signorelli (1441-1523), painted upon terra-cotta, representing his own portrait and that of Niccolo Franceschi, the camerlingo of the Duomo, and dated 1504.

Close beside this window is the bronze top of a candelabrum, formed by four little statuettes of the doctors of the Church.

Between the second and third windows of the left wall is a picture of the Magdalene by Luca Signorelli, a large heavy figure, and without charm of colour. Beside this is a heavily over-painted panel of the school of Giotto, representing the Virgin and Child with saints Savino and Giovenale. The picture comes from the old Church of S. Giovenale.

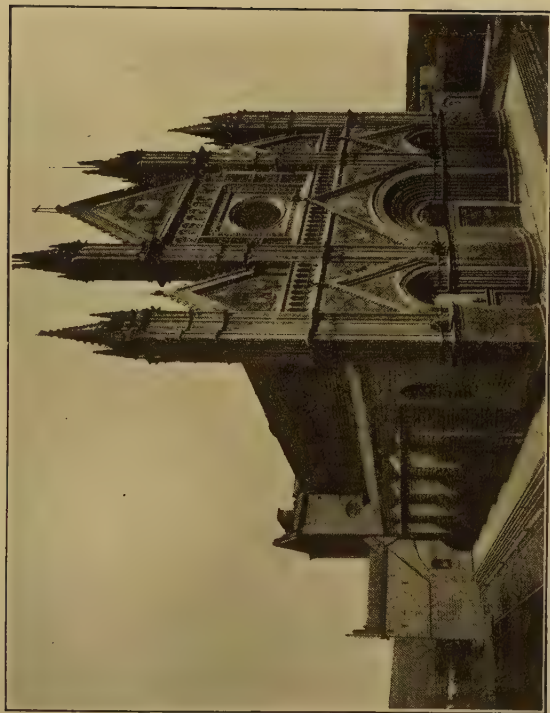
On the entrance wall, close to the door, are some fine pieces of leather wall hangings of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. Such hangings as these were largely used in the decoration of Orvietan palaces.

CHAPTER IV

THE DUOMO

THE Duomo of Orvieto is one of the most elaborate examples of that particular kind of Gothic architecture which found favour for a comparatively short time south of the Alps. This style had been introduced into Italy perhaps late in the twelfth century, certainly early in the thirteenth. Throughout this latter century there was a tendency to naturalize many of the ideas that were moving architects and sculptors north of the Alps.

Giovanni Pisano (died 1320) had adopted what may be called the Italian Gothic style for the façade of the Duomo at Siena, and when Arnolfo del Cambio began to build the Duomo of Florence in the last years of the thirteenth century, he used the same manner. In these adaptations there is a lack of spon-



THE DUOMO, ORVIETO

taneity and freedom. The Italian architect employed the northern forms without sympathizing fully in the northern spirit.

The design at Orvieto is distinctly formal and flat; the architect was not working at his ease, he was indeed using a style forced on him by the fashion of the time. And yet, though it is easy to criticize the shortcomings of the building it would be hard to exaggerate its magnificence.

Most of the mosaics, it is true, are modern restorations; but at a sufficient distance, where the heavy forms and puerile attitudes are not distinguishable, the colour of these pictures has a fine effect. No monument in Italy can show such a lovely blending of marbles shading off into delicate yellows and pinks as those which surround the great doorways and form a setting for the mosaics.

The four piers which flank the western doorways are covered with reliefs which are among the best examples of Italian sculpture. It is characteristic that the work should be in bas-relief, which can hardly be seen at a short distance from the building. The porches at Chartres remind us that the

sculptors north of the Alps knew better how to make their work effective.

It has usually been assumed that Lorenzo Maitani of Siena was the first architect of the Duomo; but if, as is supposed, Maitani was born in 1275, and the building was begun in 1290, we must look elsewhere.

So far as the artistic record of the time goes, two men only seem possible, namely, Giovanni Pisano who, according to Vasari, had designed the façade of the Duomo at Siena a few years earlier, and Arnolfo del Cambio, who began the building of Sta. Maria del Fiori at Florence a few years later than the building at Orvieto. There is no direct evidence, and we must be content to know that the design for Orvieto followed the lines of the great Tuscan architects of the time, and that certainly in 1310, if not before, Lorenzo Maitani became architect.

In 1293 there is a record of the principal men who were connected with the work. They were Ramo di Paganello of Siena; Fra Guglielmo, a pupil of Niccolo Pisano; and Giacomo di Cosma Romana (of the Cosmati family). Fra Bevignate, who built the

aqueduct at Perugia, was also there, and he was Capo Operaio for some time before 1300.

At the time of the settlement of Maitani in 1310, it is supposed that the façade was still unbuilt, and it is thought that he altered the plan, so that the two sides were carried up higher, and were finished off with gables in the same way as the central member of the design.

In 1321 Maitani set up a factory for making material for the mosaics, and there are frequent entries in the accounts for glass from Venice. Marble was brought from Rome, from Carrara, and from Monte Specchio, near Siena, and alabaster was obtained at Montalcino.

When Lorenzo Maitani died in 1330, he was succeeded by his son Niccolo, who was assisted by his brother Vitale and a certain Meo of Orvieto. Andrea Pisano was appointed Capo Maestro in 1347. He was succeeded by his son, Nino, who began to build the chapel of the Corporale in 1350 — working on foundations that had been laid in the time of Maitani.

The round window of the façade is men-

tioned as early as 1354. It was carried on under Andrea Orcagna, who became Capo Maestro in 1359. It was not finished until twenty years later.

In 1397 money was left to build the Capella Nuova or Capella di S. Brizio. The work was begun in 1408 and finished in 1419.

In 1451 the design of the upper part of the façade was altered by Antonio Federighi. The row of niches above the circular window was added, thus raising the height of the central part of the building.

The statues for the niches round the circular window were not executed until long after. Moschino (died 1578), Ippolito Scalza (working 1579), Raffaello da Montelupo, and others were concerned in the sculpture between the years 1555 and 1578.

The Façade

The building of the Duomo was due to a desire to commemorate the miracle of Bolsena. In it the Church saw a divine recognition of the sacrifice of the mass. By this manifestation, the healing power of the



FAÇADE OF THE DUOMO

Passion was confirmed to every man in the daily sacrament of the altar. The priest whose doubt was set at rest at Bolsena was only one among many who in the thirteenth century hesitated to accept the teaching of the Church, and the desire was natural that the miracle worked for his benefit should be made known to the world.

The general design of the church is therefore a testimony to the mystery of the Incarnation and its embodiment in the sacrament of the Eucharist. The dedication of the church was in the name of the Virgin Mary. It is in the teaching of St. Bernard, the spiritual leader of the twelfth century, that we realize the relation which the Virgin had to the religious feeling of the time. Madonna was the royal way by which men could ascend to Christ, as by it He descended to mankind. She was the mediatrix and advocate between Christ and man. It was her abundant charity that concealed the multitude of men's sins.

As the Incarnation is the central idea of the building, we find its realization in the Divine Child seated on His mother's knee,

placed in the most conspicuous point over the central doorway on the western façade. On the pinnacle above this doorway there is the Paschal Lamb, the sacrifice of the Pass-over being a type of the sacrifice of Christ. In the mosaics we have the detail of the life of the Virgin Mary. Around the rose window are gathered the prophets, apostles, and doctors of the Church militant. And on the four piers about the western doors there is a history of the world from the time in which all things came forth from God until they return to their justification in Him.

The sculpture and the mosaic over the entire façade may be regarded as a mirror of the universe in which man may perceive the true nature of his being, and the whence, and the whither of his existence.

The mosaics on the upper part of the façade depict the life of the Virgin. The picture over *the right-hand western door* represents the Nativity of Madonna. The angel appears to Joachim and to Anna, and at the sides there stand the prophets Nahum and Isaiah, with legends sufficiently preserved to enable us to identify their words.

The extract from the prophecy of Nahum is contained in iii. 17, "When the sun is arisen the enemies of God flee away like locusts." The extract from Isaiah is in ix. 2, "The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light."

In the *right-hand gable* there is the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple. In the corresponding *gable to the left* is the Sposalizio, and over the left-hand door is the Baptism of Christ, with the Annunciation immediately above it. *Over the central doorway* is the Assumption of Madonna, and in the *central gable* the Coronation.

The wheel window has for its centre, Christ with a cruciform nimbus; the niches at the side are occupied by twelve prophets, and in the niches above the window are twelve apostles. In the four corners are the four doctors of the Latin Church; SS. Gregory and Jerome in the upper corners and SS. Ambrose and Augustine below. On the four piers above the doorways are the four symbols of the Evangelists. It is a realization of the saying of St. Paul, "And He gave some apostles, and some prophets,

and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers . . . that we henceforth be no more children . . . but that speaking the truth in love we may grow up unto Him in all things, which is the head, even Christ."

The Sculpture on the Piers

We must now consider the sculptures about the western doorways of the Duomo. Whether they be considered as works of mediæval art or as illustrations of the mediæval mind, they are of great importance.

There is no direct evidence as to the authorship or date of these sculptures. There is a general agreement that they are due to followers of the school founded by Niccolo Pisano (1206?-1280), and continued under changing influences by Giovanni Pisano (died 1320) and Andrea Pisano (died after 1349); but there is a difference of opinion as to whether the sculptors belonged to the company who had worked on the Duomo of Siena, or whether they were Florentines. The date is equally uncertain. Some authori-

ties place the work as early as 1310; others believe that part of it is due to the time of Andrea Orcagna, who was Capo Maestro in 1359-1360. It is evident that several hands have been at work, and many years were probably spent upon it. In general effect there is more likeness to works of the Florentine school than to any known Sienese sculpture. The style suggests a date later than that of the panels on the campanile at Florence. So far as such uncertain indications go, it may perhaps be tentatively accepted that the work was done about the middle of the fourteenth century, and under the influence of Andrea Pisano, Capo Maestro (1347-1349), and Andrea Orcagna, Capo Maestro (1359-1360).

These reliefs take their place with the fountain at Perugia (1280), the reliefs on the campanile at Florence (after 1334), and the relief on the tabernacle of Or San Michele (about 1360) as among the best of all Italian sculptures. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that they are the finest works executed south of the Alps since the time of the great Greek masters.

It will be noticed that all the monuments just named (with some exception on the fountain at Perugia) consist of works in more or less low-relief. This distinguishes them from the sculpture of French artists who were accustomed to work in the round.

In the Orvietan reliefs a certain over-graciousness takes the place of the strong imaginative quality of northern work. The figure of Christ fails in impressiveness; there is no fit conception of the creative power in act. So filled is the artist with the grace and beauty of this world that he fails to grasp the wider ideal; he is satisfied to represent the mystery of creation in terms of real life. If, on the one hand, Byzantine art disregards human feeling to concern itself mainly with the abstract and general, it is equally true that this Pisan-Florentine art loses the power of expressing the supernatural in its search after the emotions of ordinary humanity. We feel the want of ability to express an existence not limited by human conditions. We are not inspired with awe by a presence aloof from and

beyond our own. Nor is the expression of the deeper passions of our nature successfully mastered. Such scenes as the Massacre of the Innocents and the Despair of the Damned are dealt with conventionally.

But when this is said there is little left to criticize. It would be hard to find anything more graceful and picturesque than the lower scenes on the first pier. There is complete command over form, either in rest or motion. We may notice, for instance, the subtle discrimination between the unanimated form of Adam and his form when lying asleep, while the graceful rendering of the angels has just that quality of distinction and reserve which distinguishes it from the works of the fifteenth century Renaissance. There is a variety of style even among these lower panels. Adam and Eve in the garden in Nos. 7 and 8 (Plan XV.) show a tendency to shortness of body, largeness of head and heaviness of feature, which is not found in the Creation series, Nos. 3, 4, and 5 (Plan XV.).

The use of sculpture in bas-relief has allowed full play to the artists' sense for the

beauty of landscape and the forms of vegetation, which add so great a charm to the design.

The second pier is considered the least interesting as a work of art. There is an easy command of method, there is freedom of pose and a sufficient sense of action, but there is a certain heaviness and want of distinction and a lack of vigour and feeling. The design at the foot of the pier where the prophets and rulers are seen, may be compared with the similar part of the third pier. In the latter there is far more dramatic force; those who hold their scrolls are instinct with life; the character of the figures is more virile and of a higher type; the sleeping patriarch is more dignified. The love of landscape breaks out again in the third pier, as it does on the first; the scene is set among trees, each one of which is a study; there are olives and figs and many oaks such as those that still add a charm to the hills and valleys of Central Italy.

The sculpture of the life of Christ is of fine quality. We are struck at once by the simplicity and the dramatic feeling of most

of the scenes. The Annunciation, it is true, is somewhat artificial, but of any such fault the Visitation is entirely clear. There is a true balance between human feeling and the sense of the divine mystery which brings the two women together. The Nativity recalls a Byzantine model, and to this is added a certain human grace and tenderness, making it as a whole one of the most beautiful representations in Italian art.

The Adoration of the Magi is only second in merit to the Nativity. It suffers from overcrowding and it verges on the narrative style of treatment, and yet it is a fine work, worthy of the best traditions of a great school. The sculpture on the fourth pier is less remarkable than the work on the first and third piers.

The designs upon the four piers are devoted to the drama of human salvation treated in an elaborate system of type and antitype.

Each design is pictured in the form of a tree, and the leading idea is the opposition of the expectation of the Prophets, with the realization of the Gospel.

The First Pier

The ivy branches in which the subjects are set symbolize everlasting life. They are typical of the idea that those who die in Christ never cease to live.

Beginning with *the lower panels*, we are at once struck with the fact that the subject is not historically treated. It is not a sculptured version of the early chapters of Genesis; it is an attempt to set forth the spiritual significance of the facts, and to suggest the relationship between the Creator and humanity. The work of the first four days appears in its results only, nor is the rest of the seventh day represented. It is only the creation of the fifth and sixth days, when fowls, fishes, cattle, creeping things, and man were made, that is shown to us in operation.

PLAN XV (p. 275)

In No. 1 the work of creation is effected by the Trinity, represented by the hand of God, by the figure of Christ, and by the dove of the Holy Spirit. The manifestation of



DETAIL OF THE FIRST PIER

power by means of the hand gives existence; the wisdom of the word gives the rational nature by which man becomes deserving of praise and blame; the love of the Holy Spirit gives holiness, by which man is capable of receiving the righteousness of God.

The account of creation in Genesis was regarded as a type of the way of God with man. The Spirit that moved on the face of the waters was significant of that divine power which substituted for the disorder of human sinfulness the divine order. The herb yielding seed is the soul zealous to do good works. The lights which are set in the firmament signify the gifts of the Spirit. Man was created in the image of God, which signifies that he should be able to know. He was created in the likeness of God so that he might love.

Thus the creation of temporal things became a mirror, in which man saw reflected the conditions of his spiritual life.

No. 1 on the Plan XV. represents the work of the fifth day. There is the firmament above, in which are the sun, moon, and stars. Below are the waters which

have been gathered together; there is also the dry land and there are fruit-bearing trees. Fishes and birds have just come into existence as manifestations of the creative power of the Trinity, represented by the hand, by Christ, and by the dove.

No. 2. Creation of beasts and creeping things.

No. 3. Creation of the body of man, in which the unanimated figure lies on the ground.

No. 4. The still unanimated figure stands before Christ, who conveys the living spirit (*Par.* vii. 137, 144).

No. 5. Adam lies asleep on the ground, while Christ bends over him and cuts the rib from his side.

The sleep of Adam is a type of the sleep of Christ upon the cross, and as from the side of the sleeping Adam came the woman Eve, so from the side of Christ came forth the sacraments of the Church.

No. 6. The final act of creation is that in which Eve rises from the side of Adam. She is animated by the informing hand of Christ laid on her shoulder. We now pass

from creation to the state of mankind in the world.

No. 7. Adam and Eve are placed in Paradise, and they are forbidden to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. In each of these scenes Christ is attended by two angels, and in this panel one of them seems to pray that man may be preserved from the coming temptation which the other indicates by a warning gesture. Adam and Eve stand under a fig-tree, and behind them is the fountain from which come the four rivers of Paradise. This is a figure of the source of grace which is spread over the earth even as the streams flow from the garden to the four quarters of the world.

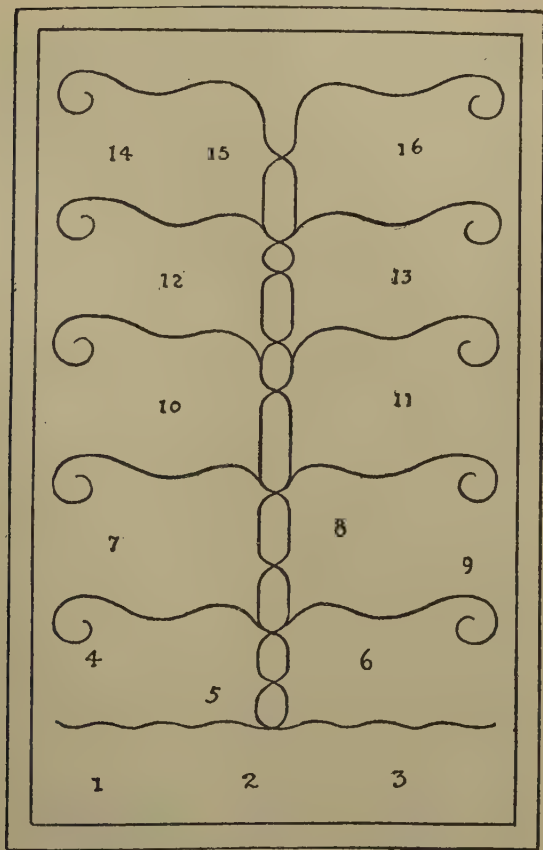
No. 8. Temptation and Fall. The Devil took the form of a serpent. He is twined round the stem of the fig-tree, and the fang of the reptile is thrust towards Eve as she gives the forbidden fruit to Adam. The newly created pair were not content to discern good and evil by commandment, they must learn by experiment, and in their disobedience they became subject to death. Man lost the light of the invisible and became

absorbed in the visible. Salvation was only possible in so far as the inner sense which was thus lost could be restored. It is the history of this restoration which is set forth on the rest of the sculpture. It is completed in the final vision of the fourth pier, where the blessed see God as He is.

No. 9 represents the shame and confusion of Adam and Eve as they hide under the trees from the sight of God, who called Adam as He walked in the garden. In trying to represent the misery of the fall the sculptor has lost the conception of the wider issues involved; he shows us the personal degradation rather than the tragedy of the entrance of disorder into the world.

No. 10. The Expulsion from Paradise. An angel lays his hand on the shoulder of Adam as a warning that they must leave the garden. Already there is a line of flame and a six-winged seraph with a drawn sword guarding against any return.

No. 11. Adam hoeing and Eve spinning. This is the beginning of the work of restoration. It was provided by divine pity that man should be rescued from some of the



Plan XV. — First Pier, Duomo, Orvieto.

physical effects of the fall by the labour of this present life. After that comes the recompense of everlasting rest. Our hearts and bodies must be alike prepared to a holy obedience. The necessity of the discipline of labour was thoroughly recognized in mediæval society. In the rules of St. Basil and St. Benedict work was one of the primary duties, and the former specially provide that devotional exercises should be no excuse for avoiding the duty of labour.

Nos. 12 and 13. The Sacrifice of Cain and Abel and the Death of Abel. These two sons of Adam were regarded as the founders of the two cities, the mystical Jerusalem and the mystical Babylon. Abel was the first-fruits of that Church which existed from the beginning of the world. Cain is a figure of the Jewish people, for as he was separated by the mark set upon him, so the legal ordinances of their law separated the Jews from those who lived in the light of the Gospel. The sacrifice of Abel was the type of the Passion of Christ, and in death he was also a figure of Him. Cain's sacrifice failed for want of a right intention; he is

the type of the Scribes and Pharisees, who fulfilled their duties outwardly but within were full of wickedness. Cain and Abel are opposed as representing the two principles of order and disorder.

Nos. 14, 15, 16 represent a child learning grammar, a man playing on bells, and a student of geometry. It is an epitome of the development of human energy. Grammar is the door through which the child passes in his first search after knowledge. Music stands for that principle of proportion and symmetry which enters into every relation, physical, mental and spiritual. It was regarded as a type of the common bond by which all things are composed into one harmonious creation. Geometry was considered as being the study of immovable matter, and its significance consisted in its tendency to lead men to perceive continuous existence and the unchangeable essence that lies beyond.

Grammar, music, and geometry epitomize, therefore, the arts by which man learned to satisfy his wants. Through these arts social life became possible, and so cities were

built and kingdoms were established. The knowledge necessary for practical life led to the higher studies of philosophy, and these in their turn led to the searching out of divine things. That which connects this series of sculptures with the others is the hope that is held out to mankind, even in the fall and the expulsion from Paradise. Every detail of creation was a type of divine mercy. In the scene of the temptation and fall there is the fountain, the type of divine grace. In the murder of Abel there is the type of the sacrifice of Christ. In the scenes of labour and of the invention of the arts there is the beginning of the work of restoration.

The Second Pier

PLAN XVI (p. 283)

The second pier has for its central idea the tree of the human ancestry of the Messiah springing from Jesse (No. 17). In the branches of the tree are described the visions of the prophets in which they foresaw the coming of Christ. The following de-

scription includes only the panels which appear to carry on the main idea of the sculptures. There are at the sides subsidiary scenes, but these have not been identified. No evidence exists which warrants us in deciding what the various scenes on this pillar were intended to represent, nor are the subjects obvious. The following attributions must only be accepted as suggestions, and for these we are in many instances indebted to Mrs. A. H. Smith and Miss Margaret Smith.

Above the figure of Jesse are six righteous kings of the house of David (No. 18). The first king has a harp, and he may be identified as David; the young king above is perhaps Solomon. Those above have been supposed to be Asa, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah. Above these is Madonna (No. 19) and Christ (No. 20). They both bear closed books, for "the words are closed up and sealed till the end of time" (Dan. xii. 9).

The skeleton of Adam in its coffin (No. 21) recalls the saying of St. Paul, "For since by man came death, by man also came the

resurrection of the dead " (1 Cor. xv. 20). The sculpture on this pier is the expression of the vision which the Hebrew prophets had of the coming of the Man who was to liberate humanity from the bondage of death.

There are in the lower courses a number of figures. Nos. 22 and 23 are probably those of prophets and rulers of the people of the Jews. One of these, however, with covered feet and with a crown or garland on his head, has been identified as Virgil, who was supposed to have prophesied of Christ in quoting the vision of the Cumæan Sibyl. (See panel 28.)

Nos. 24 and 25. Balaam's ass sees the angel and Balaam prophesies concerning the star which shall come out of Jacob (Numb. xxiv. 17).

In No. 26 Gideon wrings the water out of the fleece; the dry fleece also lies on the ground. God's choice of Mary when He desired to be incarnate was prefigured by the fleece of Gideon, which alone was wet; so Mary alone of the many daughters of Israel was found worthy. The water wrung

out of the fleece was a figure of the grace which comes by Christ, while the dry fleece signified the people of the Jews.

No. 27 represents the consecration of David by the prophet Samuel. This passing from the care of the sheepfolds to the ruling of men was a type of how the Gospel was offered to the Gentiles, when the Jews, the sheep of the flock, would not hear it. Jesse, the father of David, holds up his hands in the attitude of prayer, as if he had a vision of the descent of the Spirit on his son (1 Sam. xvi. 6-13).

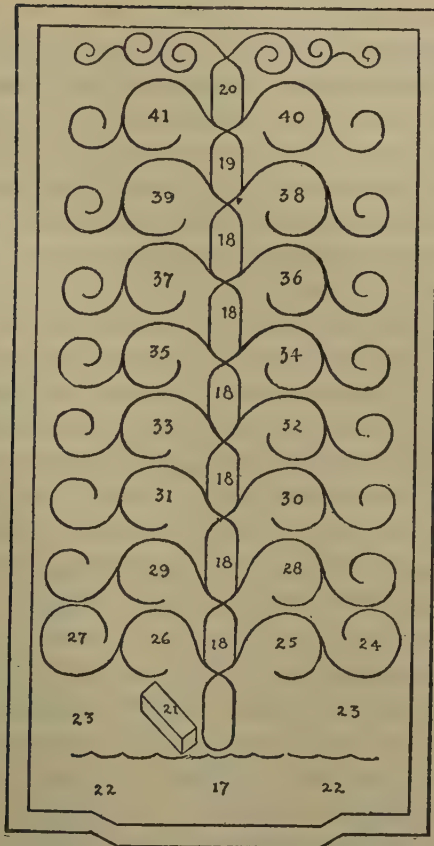
No. 28 has been identified as representing the prophecy of the Cumæan Sibyl quoted by Virgil. An old man presents the Child to two women, who hold between them a globe. The reference made by Virgil to the Sibylline verse runs as follows: "The last age of the Cumæan song comes, the great series of ages takes rise from the beginning. Now the Virgin returns, now the kingdoms of Saturn return. Now a new lineage is sent down from heaven. Be favourable, O pure Lucina, to the boy at his birth, through whom the iron age will first be brought to an end, and

the golden age will arise over the whole world."

No. 29. Christ in the act of blessing appears to a number of men and women who hold up their hands in adoration. It is probably a description of Isaiah ix. 2: "The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light: they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined." (See Matt. iv. 12-16 and Ephes. v. 8.)

No. 30 is probably a comment on Dan. ii. 34, in which the prophet sees a stone cut without hands. It became a great mountain and filled the whole earth, as by faith in Christ all the ends of the earth are filled.

No. 31 is a reference to Ezekiel xlvii. 1-13, in which waters issue from under the thresh-old of the house of the Lord. These waters make a great river going down into the desert and into the sea, healing its waters. Everything shall live whithersoever it comes, and on its banks shall grow every tree for meat, whose leaf shall not wither, neither shall the fruit thereof fail (see also Rev. xxii. 1-2). The windows and doors of the



Plan XVI. — Second Pier, Duomo, Orvieto

church to the right of the panel are filled with foliage.

No. 32 probably represents the childhood of Immanuel (Isa. vii. 14). Below we see the results of the establishment of this power, typified by the change of nature which causes beasts, savage and tame alike, to live together in peace and harmony (see Isa. xi. 1-9, also Matt. i. 23).

No. 33 is the vision of Ezekiel, i. 4-28, in which the prophet sees the likeness of the four living creatures. The sculpture shows us Christ in an aureole in the act of blessing, and surrounded by the four creatures. The living creature having the likeness of a man represents reason; the creature with the likeness of an ox stands for the spirit of sacrifice; the lion symbol is the type of fortitude and justice; and the eagle stands for contemplation. Thus the four symbols represented the light of the Gospel, and taken together they stood for Christ. It was a vision of the time when the Gospel would take the place of law, and when Christ would do away with its ordinances.

No. 34 represents the story in 2 Maccabees

iii. 14-40. The priests of the Temple at Jerusalem acted as guardians of money belonging to widows and orphans. King Antiochus sent Heliodorus to take this treasure. When the latter was in the treasury with his guards there appeared a horse with a terrible rider. Heliodorus was smitten to the ground, and two young men, notable in strength and beautiful in glory, beat him with many stripes. On the intercession of Onias, the high priest, his life was granted to him, and he offered a sacrifice and vowed vows, seeing that he had thus escaped. When the king asked Heliodorus who else should be sent, he answered that if there were any enemy or any conspirator against the king he should go, for there was about the place a power of God. The chastisement of Heliodorus was regarded as a type of Christ driving out the money changers from the Temple.

No. 35. This panel probably represents the prophecy of Isaiah ii. and iii., in which the destruction of Jerusalem is foreseen as the result of the backsliding of the nation. The particular part chosen for representation

may be that spoken of in Isaiah iii. 13-14. "The Lord standeth up to plead, and standeth to judge the people. The Lord will enter into judgment with the ancients of his people and the princes thereof: for ye have eaten up the vineyard; the spoil of the poor is in your houses."

No. 36 is probably a reference to Zech. xi. 12, "So they weighed for my hire thirty pieces of silver," which was understood by the commentators as a prophecy of the betrayal. We are also reminded by such passages as 1 Samuel ii. 3 and Proverbs xvi. 2, that God's ways are not as man's ways, and that it is God who weigheth the spirits.

No. 37 is probably a representation of the vision in 2 Esdras ix. 38-47 and x. 1-17, in which a woman sorrowing for her son comes out of the city into the field, and mourns and fasts so that she may die. The woman (2 Esdras x. 44-49) is Zion; she mourns for the City of Jerusalem, whose destruction is signified by the death of the woman's son. Then is shown to the prophet (2 Esdras x. 50-54), the future brightness of the glory and the comeliness of the beauty of the city

of the Most High, even as it had been shown to the woman in the field (2 Esdras x. 16) that she should again receive her son and be praised among women.

No. 38 is the Crucifixion. This is not a representation of the historical event, but rather a recognition of the prophetic view that it was the victory on the cross by which the bonds of sin were to be loosed, and the whole world to be reconciled. The sun and the moon, the only details of the picture, recall Psalms cxlviii. 2-3. They were also supposed to represent the two Testaments and likewise the divine and human nature united in Christ.

In No. 39 the "man Gabriel" appears to the prophet Daniel (ix. 21-26), and shows him when "the anointed one, the prince" shall come, and how "the anointed one" shall be cut off.

No. 40 probably refers to the declaration made in Malachi iv. 2, "But unto you that fear My name, shall the sun of righteousness arise with healing in His wings."

No. 41. The Archangel Gabriel in Annunciation. He flies towards Madonna, who

sits in the central line below Christ. Mary raises her hand as she says, "Behold the handmaid of the Lord, be it unto me according to thy word" (Luke i. 38).

This series of prophecies is remarkable, inasmuch as it represents the spirit of the kingdom of Christ to which the world looked forward, rather than any mere accordance between the terms of prophecy and the actual events of the life of Christ. It would have been easy to take each fact as described on the third pier and give its exact prophetic parallel on the second. Something more than that has been attempted: the prophecies of the second pier have a direct bearing on the coming of Christ; but there is also everywhere a suggestion of the spiritual results that are to mark the new order.

The new horizon is the subject of the Sibyl's prophecy (No. 28); the new spirit, which is to animate it, is the note of the vision of Ezekiel (No. 33). The descent of the Spirit and the gift of grace are foreseen in the consecration of David (No. 27), and the dew which Gideon wrings out of the

fleece (No. 26). The new life, which the gospel is to bring with it, is described by the river which brings healing to all things (No. 31). The scene from Isaiah (No. 29) shows that this new life will no longer be lived in a world of shadows, but in the full light of the skill and understanding which Gabriel comes to give to Daniel (No. 39). The stone which fills the earth (No. 30) is a figure of all-pervading faith; the prophet preaches hope to the mother who has lost her son, and who is to regain him (No. 37); while in the crucifixion (No. 38) there is the supreme sacrifice prompted by love. The stories of Balaam (Nos. 24, 25) and Heliodorus (No. 34) illustrate the power of the Spirit when it is opposed to the worldly element in men's lives, and the prophecy of Isaiah (No. 35) warns against a selfish oppression of the poor. Finally there is the contrast between the disobedience ending in the death of Adam, and the obedience of Mary, which leads to the fulfilment of all prophecy and to the beginning of the reign of the spiritual and harmonious life, which is the note of the new era.

The Third Pier

PLAN XVII (p. 293)

We now turn to the third pier, on which is sculptured a history of the life of Christ. The doctors of the Middle Ages taught that they who desired to behold the glory of Christ's divine nature must follow the journey of His mortal life; we have therefore such epitomes as the one before us. The choice of subjects, limited as it is pretty closely to those connected with the Nativity and Passion, indicates that the intention was to direct the mind to the Incarnation.

Mediaeval thinkers were accustomed to regard mankind as forming a mystical body which existed for some purpose or end, and which was directed towards it by some vivifying principle. The purpose or end of mankind was reunion with the Creator, and the vivifying principle was Christ, who was conceived of as the head of the mystical body composed of mankind as a whole. The sculpture of this third pier was intended to explain this vivifying principle in action, and to show how it affects the life of each

individual man. The sculpture springs from the sleeping form of Abraham (No. 42), and it records the fulfilment of the promise made to him: "In thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed" (Gen. xii. 3).

The tree which branches out from this root has in its main stem the spiritual ancestry of Christ — the prophets (No. 43), who foresaw His coming, and who predicted the salvation which He was to bring.

It is the tree of the gospel. It is the tree which through man's disobedience had become the tree of death, and has now become the tree of life.

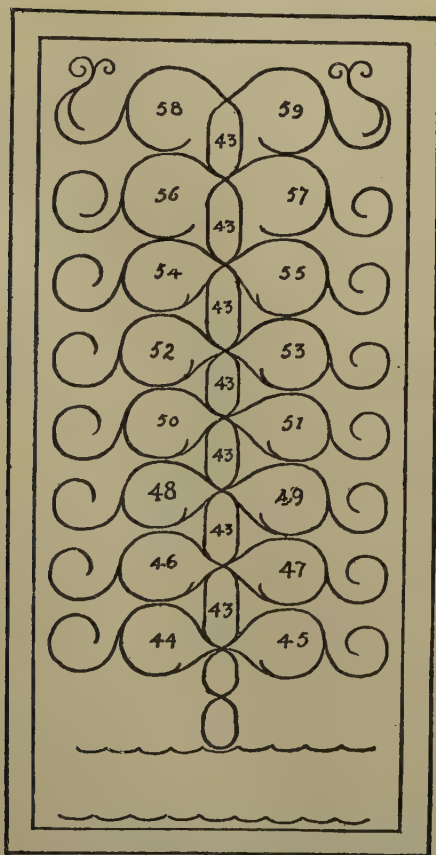
We begin at the lower left-hand corner with the Annunciation (No. 44). This scene marks the reconcilment of the world with God. The true light has descended from heaven. The hopes and desires of the patriarchs and prophets have been heard. Madonna bears a closed book, which the author of Isa. xxix. 11 says the learned men of Jerusalem would not read and the unlearned could not read. The prophecy usually associated with the Annunciation is that in Isa. vii. 14.

No. 45. The Visitation was connected with the prophecy of Obadiah i. 1. The scene portrayed was the occasion of the Magnificat. This song of rejoicing marked the contrast between the lowliness of Mary and the pride of our first parents.

No. 46 is the Nativity. The relative prophecy is that of Isa. ix. 6. The ox and the ass were by some considered as types of the Jewish and Gentile nations who were united in the birth of the Son of Justice.

No. 47. The Adoration of the Magi. This was regarded as the call of the Gentiles. In these three Magi, all people worship the Author of the universe. Many prophecies were considered to be predictions of their visit, the most usual one being Ps. lxxii. 15. Gold was offered to the Child in His character as King. Myrrh was offered to His humanity and incense to His divinity.

No. 48. The Presentation in the Temple prophesied in Mal. iii. 1. The old age of Simeon was a figure of the "old man," Simeon bearing the Child was the assumption of the "new man." It was a figure of



Plan XVII.—Third Pier, Duomo, Orvieto.

the passing from the shadow of the law to the light of the gospel.

No. 49. The Flight into Egypt (see Ps. lv. 6-8 and Hos. xi. 1). The Child went down into Egypt so that grace might appear to the people among whom the slaying of the Lamb first foreshadowed the health-bringing sign of the cross.

No. 50. The Massacre of the Innocents was predicted in Joel iii. 19, and was a foreshadowing of the persecutions which the Church was destined to pass through.

No. 51. Christ among the Doctors is associated with Jer. viii. 9. This incident was considered as a warning of how the darkness of unbelief not only prevents the light from penetrating to the understanding, but confuses the apprehension of the knowledge on which the unbeliever prides himself.

No. 52. The Baptism. See 2 Kings v. 10. Christ was baptized not that He might be cleansed but so that He might sanctify water as the symbol of purification for man. The opening of the heavens, when the dove descended, was significant of the opening of the heavenly kingdom to the regenerate soul.

No. 53. The Temptation. The relative prophecy is found in Nahum i. 11. In the history of Christ's temptation men saw the struggle which they themselves had to pass through. They thought of it as inevitable, they accepted it as a necessary element in the strengthening of character, they saw in it the opportunity of self-knowledge, they rejoiced in it, for they thought that victory brought the crown of life.

No. 54. The Triumphal Entry, Zech. ix. 9. This scene signified the entry which Christ was to make into heaven, while the lament over Jerusalem foreshadowed the grief for the souls who would not hear the message of the gospel.

No. 55. The Betrayal, Ps. xli. 9. The choice made by Judas is a figure of the choice made by those who prefer material or worldly shadows to spiritual and celestial realities.

No. 56. The Flagellation, Ps. xxxviii. 18. It was thought that in suffering from the crown of thorns Christ cancelled the curse which had fallen on the earth for the sin of Adam. He who though blameless suffered

scourging showed what sinful men ought to do in punishment of their evildoing.

No. 57. The Crucifixion, Isa. liii. 5. This is an abstract of the usual representation of the scene with Madonna and St. John at the foot of the cross and the inscription on the tree. The view of the early Church as to the significance of the Crucifixion is fitly summed up in the saying of Leo the Great, "For who could overcome the world's hatred, the blasts of temptation, the terror of persecutors, had not Christ in the name of all and for all said to the Father, 'Thy will be done'?"

No. 58. The Maries at the Tomb, Ps. cxxxix. 18. Dante considers the three women as figures of the Epicureans, the Stoics, and the Peripatetics — that is, those who live in the active life. They search for their beatitude in the things of this present world of unrealities — that is, in the empty tomb. The angel who represents the divine element in man directs them to contemplation as the true beatitude. For though an imperfect state of blessedness is found in the exercise of the moral virtues

of the active life beatitude is only perfected when the intellect contemplates God and ponders on Him in His purpose.

No. 59. "Noli me tangere." Mary Magdalene was regarded as a type of the Gentile Church, which did not believe, until after Christ had ascended into heaven, and hence it was supposed came the command.

The sculptures of the third pier show us the fulfilment of the expectations of the old world, and present a forecast of the spiritual life which was to be the vivifying principle of the new.

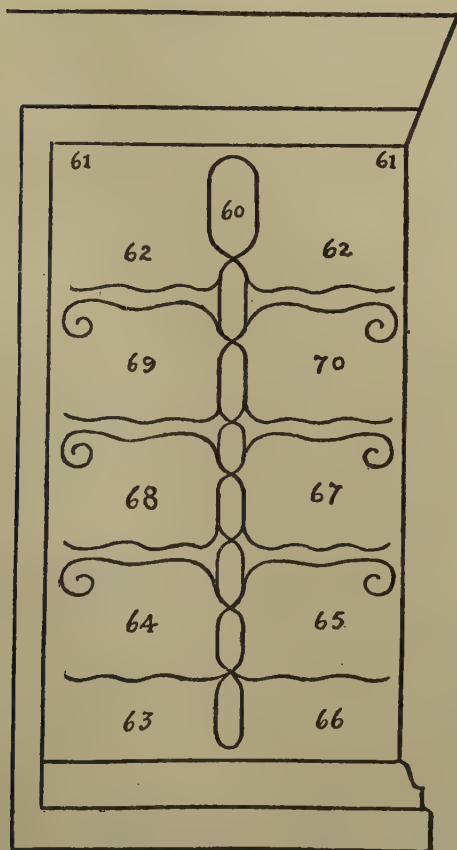
The Fourth Pier

The fourth pier is sculptured with the concluding acts of the great drama of human life. Like the others, the design takes the form of a tree — it is the vine of the Lord. Its branches bear much fruit — a symbol of the souls who are gathered to the communion of heaven. *In the upper part of the pier* we see "that most brilliant senate set in this most splendid senate-house."

PLAN XVIII (p. 299)

In the centre Christ is seated (No. 60) surrounded by the choirs of angels; to the right and left are the symbols of the Passion, and beyond are angels (No. 61) sounding the trumpets which summon to the Resurrection. On the left of Christ sit the prophets with St. John the Baptist (No. 62), and on the right are the apostles with Madonna (No. 62).

At the bottom of the pier the dead are rising out of the tombs (No. 63). In the panel above this (No. 64) the elect are assembling, and in the panel to the spectator's right is the company of the damned (No. 65). Below (in panel No. 66) is Hell. Between these lower sculptures and the upper part of the design where Christ is seated there are four panels (Nos. 67, 68, 69, 70) in which the blessed are shown approaching the throne; they are guided and encouraged by angels. In No. 69 there is an assembly of men, including St. Francis and a Pope, supposed to be Nicholas IV., while women are gathered in No. 70.



Plan XVIII.— Fourth Pier, Duomo, Orvieto

This company of the saints is about to enjoy the vision of the divine glory, regarded by mediæval speculation as the true refreshment of the soul.

For those who have found their goal in the transitory things of this life there is also an everlasting state. We see it in the panels No. 65 and 66, where the damned are gathered together to suffer the tortures of hell (No. 66). The artist has tried to realize the thought of St. Gregory the Great — how great is the confusion of the wicked when the Eternal Judge is discerned without, and sin is set in review before the eyes within.

In its relation to the other piers this is the one in which the whole scheme comes to fruition. The Creation on the first pier is followed by the Fall. Then begins the work of restoration in the institution of labour and of the arts and sciences. The second pier shows the early development of the spiritual life of the world, and how it advanced with the hope and expectation of a Messiah, as its principle of life. The third pier continues the history in the light of

the fulfilment of all hopes and promises and under the influence of the example of the life of Christ among men. The goal of all striving, the end of all effort, is reached on the fourth pier, where the blessed stand in the sight of God and enjoy the full communion of saints.

The Choir

Ugolino di Prete Ilario was commissioned to paint the frescoes in the choir in 1370. He died in 1384, leaving the work unfinished.

Giacomo di Bologna undertook to paint here in 1491, and Pinturicchio was employed in 1492. In 1496 he painted two of the doctors. Antonio da Viterbo (1497-1499) is supposed to have painted the angel in the Annunciation and some other parts of the frescoes. The series is concerned with the coming of Christ and with the life of the Virgin.

The fresco in the vault (a) where Christ appears surrounded by Seraphim and Cherubim strikes the dominant note. In the vault to the right (c) there is the mani-

festation of the Holy Spirit. Rays descend upon the earth as a symbol of the gifts of "Ineffable Charity."

In the lunettes below the vault, and to the right and left (f and g, Plan XIX.) are the prophets. On the side walls are the apostles, evangelists, and doctors. The rest of the frescoes deal with the life of the Virgin Mary as the direct and intimate link between the human and the divine natures.

PLAN XIX (p. 307)

We turn now to examine the details of the frescoes:—

(a) *On the vault* over the entrance is Christ with Seraphim and Cherubim.

(c) *On the vault* to the right of Christ, the dove of the Holy Spirit spreads the rays of its power over all the people of the earth.

(d) *On the vault* to the left of Christ are the orders of angels.

On the side walls of the choir to the left—
No. 1, St. John the Evangelist; No. 2, St. Matthew; No. 3, St. Augustine; No. 4,

St. Jerome. *On the right wall* — No. 32, St. Mark; No. 33, St. Gregory. The defaced parts of the wall at Nos. 30 and 31 no doubt had figures of St. Luke and St. Ambrose.

The circular window (A) to the left has traces of the apostles, each contributing one of the parts of the Creed. The paintings round the window to the right (B) have been destroyed.

The spiritual forces of the old and the new dispensations are suggested in the lunettes (f) and (g) over the side walls. *To the right*, at (f), there are Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; Isaiah, Jeremiah, and St. John the Baptist. *To the left*, at (g), there are the martyrs, SS. Laurence and Stephen; the martyrs and virgins, SS. Lucy and Agnes; St. Martin, who parted his robe with the beggar; and St. Sylvester and Constantine, the Pope and the emperor who established Christianity in the West. The same contrast between the old and the new is kept up in the frescoes round the lancet window in the eastern wall. *To the right* are Adam, Noah, Abraham, Melchisedek, Joseph, Moses, and Job. *To the left*,

SS. Ignatius, Vincentius, Nicholas, and SS. Mary Magdalene, Catherine, Antonina, and Agnes.

We must next consider the pictures relating to the life of the Virgin. They begin with the story of her father and mother, Joachim and Anna. Joachim was of the city of Nazareth, and Anna was a Bethlehemite. They lived a simple and charitable life, giving a third of their goods to the Temple, a third to the needy, and a third they kept for their own necessities. At the feast of the dedication Joachim's offering was refused, as he was childless. In his discomfiture he went to dwell with his herdsman, and thither an angel was sent in answer to his prayers. A daughter was promised to him, and he was bidden to go to the Golden Gate at Jerusalem, where he should meet his wife, Anna. To her likewise there was sent an angel, who gave the same message. Thus when they met they knew that the promise was confirmed to them. In like fashion as Sarah bare Isaac in her old age, and as Rebecca after a long time became the mother of Joseph, so to Anna

there came, as the special gift of God, the child Mary.

No. 5. Joachim is driven out from the congregation. An angel appears to him.

No. 6. An angel appears to Anna.

No. 7. Joachim and Anna meet at the Golden Gate.

No. 8. Nativity of the Virgin.

No. 9. When three years of age she was dedicated to the service of God, and was brought to the Temple. Until she was fourteen years old she lived within the precincts, being visited daily by angels. When she reached the proper age she refused to leave the Temple and to be given in marriage. The high priest, therefore, by command of a voice from the ark, called together the men of the house of David, and when their rods were laid on the altar a dove rested on the one belonging to Joseph, and he was betrothed to Mary (No. 10).

No. 11. The Annunciation. The willing submission of Mary to the message of the angel was an evidence of her deep humility, as opposed to the sin of pride (*Purg.* x. 40).

No. 12. The Salutation. The haste with

which Mary set out to visit Elizabeth was used as an example against the sloth which benumbs spiritual life (see *Purg.* xviii. 102). Her love for Elizabeth and her readiness to serve were cited by S. Bonaventura as evidence of that charity which prompts man to love his neighbour.

No. 13. The chastity of Mary is revealed to Joseph in a vision. In *Purg.* xxv. 128 she appears to the souls who are being purified as the symbol of this virtue.

No. 14. Joseph takes Mary to his own house.

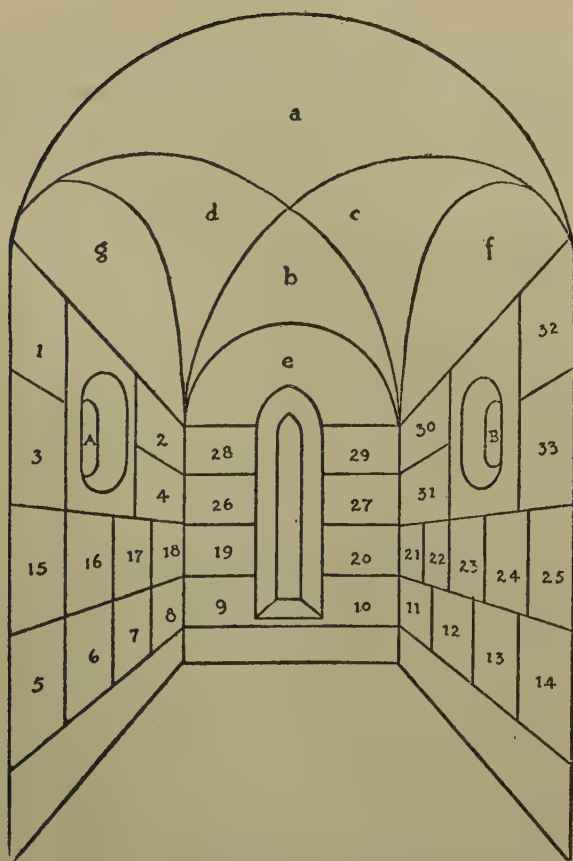
No. 15. The Nativity of Christ. The lowly circumstance of the birth of the Child is set before the avaricious in *Purg.* xx. 19 as an example.

No. 16. Adoration of the Shepherds. No. 17. The Circumcision. No. 18. The Adoration of the Magi. No. 19. The Presentation in the Temple. No. 20. The Flight into Egypt.

No. 21. Defaced.

No. 22. The Child with the Doctors in the Temple.

No. 23. Joseph and Mary miss the Child.



Plan XIX. — Choir of the Duomo, Orvieto

No. 24. They find Him in the Temple.

No. 25. They chide Him. The meekness of Mary's reproof is used as an example to those who are being cleansed from the sin of anger in *Purg.* xv. 83.

The frescoes from Nos. 15 to 25 (Plan XIX.) represent the life of the Virgin in its immediate relationship to that of the Child. They also suggest how her life was regarded as an example of the virtues by which a man's nature is perfected.

The history is taken up again in No. 26 (Plan XIX.). An angel announces that the soul of Mary will be taken from her body on the third day.

No. 27. The apostles, who were miraculously called from where they were preaching, kneel round the bed. The night was spent in holy communion, and in the morning the soul was parted from the body and was carried up in the arms of Christ.

No. 28. The body of the Virgin was laid in a sepulchre, and there it remained for three days.

No. 29. On the third day the body of the Virgin was raised from the tomb.

(e. Plan XIX.) In the lunette over the window is the Ascension of the Virgin.

(b.) The Coronation of the Virgin. This consummation was regarded as the fulfilment of the saying in Rev. iii. 21, "To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with Me on My throne." It was a pledge of that glory which is to be the lot of all faithful souls.

These frescoes vary in merit. Christ receiving Madonna in the scene of the coronation, the figure of the Virgin in the Sposalizio, Christ among the doctors, and the Child found by His parents are all fair examples of an art that does not take a first place. On the other hand, the expulsion of Joachim and the return of Joseph and Mary to their house are coarse and unsatisfactory. If, however, the paintings be judged as a whole and from some little distance, it will be seen that the clear shadowless colour and the simple dignity of the forms yield a most harmonious result. This *naïf* art, untroubled with the problems that beset the men of the Renaissance, relies for its charm on the simplicity and directness of its means. It finds a fit object in the simple story of

Madonna, in which S. Bonaventura saw reflected, as in a mirror, all that makes for goodness and truth.

To the right of the entrance to the choir is the Cappella de Magi, for which Sammicheli, who was Capo Maestro (1514-1521), furnished a design. When Clement VII. brought San Gallo to Orvieto after the sack of Rome, he also made a design. Both were submitted to the Pope, who decided in favour of that by Sammicheli. In 1535 Simone Mosca was employed, having for his assistants his son Francesco, a youth of fifteen, and Raffaello da Montelupo. The bas-relief is due to them, and the work was finished in 1546.

To the left of the choir is a relief of the Visitation, designed by Simone Mosca in 1546. His son Francesco worked at it for a short time, and then left. He was recalled in 1550, and, with the help of Ippolito Scalza and others, the work was finished in 1554.

CHAPTER V

THE CAPPELLA DELLA MADONNA DI S. BRIZIO

THE chapel to the south of the Duomo is known as the Cappella della Madonna di San Brizio from a miracle-working picture which is still over the altar. The building was begun in 1408. At the sides of the window in the end wall of the chapel are the figures of two bishops supposed to represent SS. Brizio and Costanzo. S. Brizio was bishop of Spoleto or Assisi in the first century, and St. Peter is said to have given him power to consecrate pastors in the churches he should visit. S. Costanzo was a bishop of Perugia; he was martyred in the second century. In 1447 the painting of the chapel was begun by Fra Angelico, who painted the Christ in the vault over the high altar and the group of prophets in the vault to

the right; he is also said to have drawn the design for the group of martyrs. After Fra Angelico was called away nothing was done for many years. Negotiations with Perugino fortunately led to no result. It was in 1499 that Luca Signorelli was employed to finish the vaults of the roof, and in 1500 he was commissioned to paint the walls. The work was still going on in the year 1504, and there was money due to him so late as 1509.

Luca Signorelli was a citizen of Cortona, born there about 1441. He took an active part in the government of the town, and Vasari says that he was "a man of upright life, and sincere in all things. He lived splendidly, and had pleasure in clothing himself handsomely." He survived both Leonardo da Vinci and Raphael, dying, as it is believed, in 1523. He was a pupil of Piero della Francesca, and it is supposed that he also came under the influence of Antonio Pollaiuolo, a Florentine, who was trained as a goldsmith. It is true of nearly all the great Italian masters that they excelled in fresco, but of none is it more true



FRA ANGELICO.—CHRIST IN JUDGMENT

than of Signorelli. Many of his altar-pieces painted on panel are in existence, but none of them reveal to us the intellectual quality and the imaginative power which is found in the frescoes at Orvieto. Signorelli is not a great colourist; he has no suave Umbrian sentiment, nor does he see the spacious distances of Perugino. He realizes himself fully only in terms of human life. He gains expression for the deepest and most far-reaching relations of existence in the human form. No monument of the time is so thoroughly characteristic of the finer developments of the Renaissance, and no other monument of the period (with the possible exception of the Sistine Chapel) gives such a sense of power and strength.

The note of the scheme in this chapel is Christ in Judgment.

This central figure is preceded by a history of mankind arranged round the great poets of antiquity — Dante being included. These pictures are followed by the signs of the coming judgment, including the reign of Antichrist, and the resurrection from the dead. Then we have the judgment, and

finally the everlasting life of beatitude or punishment.

The visitor is advised to begin by studying the pictures in the following order:—

1 (Plan XX.). The pictures in small medallions grouped round the ancient poets and Dante, distinguished on the plan by letters from B to L 2.

2. The signs of coming judgments. Confusion (i., Plan XXI.). The reign of Anti-christ (ii., Plan XX.). The destruction by fire (iii., Plan XXI.).

3. The Resurrection of the Dead (iv., Plan XX.).

4. Christ in judgment, Plan XX. (v.) attended by the spiritual forces of the Jewish and Christian dispensations, patriarchs (vii.), prophets (viii.), apostles (ix.), doctors (x.), martyrs (xi.), virgins (xii.).

5. The wicked carried off by devils, Plan XX. (xiii.), and tormented in hell (xiv.).

6. The blessed crowned by angels, Plan XX. (xv.), and led up to heaven (xvi.).

We begin with the pictures grouped round the ancient poets. No names are given to the poets, but the nature of the paintings,

and the scene in *Inferno* iv. 89-90, where Dante describes his meeting with the sages, make it probable that they are Homer, Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Lucan, and Dante.

In addition to these there are two others — one perhaps may be Empedocles, the other is destroyed.

On entering the chapel, Empedocles, Homer, Dante, and Virgil are to the left, Lucan, Horace, and Ovid being on the right. Round each of these, as central figures, there are small panels, generally dealing with some scene in their writings more or less illustrative of the large frescoes above. In the case of Virgil there is an exception; the small illustrations are not taken from his own poems, but from scenes in *Purgatory* where Virgil was acting as Dante's guide or companion.

To the left, on the entrance wall, there is a painting which has been supposed to represent Empedocles (P 2, Plan XXI.). He looks up at the scene of destruction and dissolution above him. Some have thought that the philosopher sees in this a realization of his theory of the moving forces of love

and hate. When hate becomes active, the ordinary bond uniting nature is dissolved. In *Inferno* xii. 44, Dante attributes to Empedocles the idea that the alternating forces of love and hate cause the world "often-times to be converted into chaos."

PLANS XX (p. 323) AND XXI (p. 327)

The first poet on the side wall to the left is Homer. Round him are three small pictures (B, C, and D). They have been supposed to represent scenes from *Iliad*, xviii. The shield of Achilles is made by Hephaistos, and on it there is figured a judgment scene supposed to be that painted at D. It may be a pendant to the tragedy enacted in the picture C. The figure at B has been identified as that of Achilles arousing himself to prepare for the rescue of the body of Patroklos. These attributions are not convincing.

Round the figure of Dante there are four scenes from *Purgatory*.

(F.) Cato meets Virgil and Dante on the shore of the island of Purgatory. Virgil, when challenged by Cato, says they are

there, in virtue of the prayers of a lady, who descended from heaven. He declares that he was sent as guide, so that Dante might reach salvation by experience of guilt in hell, and now they go to see the souls who are being purified (*Purg.* i. 43-84).

(G.) In the foreground Virgil points out to Dante the boat bringing souls to the island of Purgatory. It is impelled by an angel of God, whose light is so brilliant that Dante shades his eyes (*Purg.* ii. 39). In the centre of the picture Dante obeys the command of Virgil (*Purg.* ii. 28) to bend his knees in the presence of the angel, who has just guided the boat-load of souls to the shore. In the background is the meeting between Casella and Dante (*Purg.* ii. 76-111), ending in the indignant protest of Cato against the halt which the souls make on their way to the mount of cleansing.

(H.) Virgil asks the way upwards from the souls they meet. Dante meets King Manfred (*Purg.* iii. 113), who was killed at the battle of Beneventum (1266). The king sends a message to his daughter Constance to comfort her. He confesses that his sins

were horrible, but Infinite Goodness has arms spread so wide, that all who return may be gathered within them.

(I.) Virgil and Dante begin to climb. They mount on broken rock, and need both hands and feet (*Purg.* iv. 33). At the top of the narrow way they sit down to rest. Dante wonders why the sun strikes them on the left (they are in the southern hemisphere) (*Purg.* iv. 57). In the background they find Belacqua sitting in the shadow of the rock (*Purg.* vi. 104), more negligent than even if Idleness were his sister (*Purg.* iv. 110-112).

The next of the great men is Virgil; he is surrounded by scenes from the *Purgatory* of Dante.

(K.) Virgil reproves Dante for halting to listen to the souls, who are curious and wonder to see a form that casts a shadow (*Purg.* v. 1-18). A number of souls sing the "Miserere" (*Purg.* v. 24). Again the souls marvel at the shadow which is cast by Dante. They send two messengers to inquire of the condition of the visitors (*Purg.* vi. 29-30).

(L.) The souls gather round Dante.

Among the crowd are Benincasa of Arezzo, slain by the brother of one who had suffered while Benincasa was Podestà of Siena; Cione, of the family of the Tarlati, drowned at the battle of Campaldino; Federigo Novello, a Pisan; and Pier della Broccia, chamberlain of Philip III. of France. These all desire that prayer may be made, so that their time of purification on the mount shall come quickly (*Purg.* vi. 1-28). In the background Sordello embraces the knees of Virgil when the latter declares himself to be a Mantuan. Virgil bends over him and returns the salutation.

(M.) Sordello again embraces Virgil's knees (*Purg.* vii. 15), and the poet says that he has lost the light of the sun, not for doing, but for not doing. In the centre of the picture Sordello explains that the darkness of night prevents any one from climbing the mountain. He leads them to a point where they can see the souls of Rodolph the emperor and other rulers, who had allowed too great a weight to the things of this world. The kings sing the "Salve Regina" (*Purg.* vii. 67-136).

(N.) Virgil, Dante, and Sordello hear the souls of the rulers sing "Te lucis ante" (*Purg.* viii. 13). Two angels with flaming swords guard the valley against the serpent (*Purg.* viii. 39 and viii. 98). In the background Dante talks with Nino Visconti of Pisa (*Purg.* viii. 53) and Conrad Malaspini (*Purg.* viii. 118).

The series of small panels dealing with the purification of souls is continued on part of the end wall of the chapel.

(O.) Dante, having fallen asleep (*Purg.* ix. 10), awakens to find himself at the gate of Purgatory (*Purg.* ix. 39). While asleep, Dante has seen a vision of an eagle, who bears him aloft (*Purg.* ix. 29-30), and Virgil explains that Lucia has appeared to him and borne Dante upwards to where he now is (*Purg.* ix. 61). To the left of the picture Dante kneels before the angel, who sits at the gate (*Purg.* ix. 82).

(P.) Virgil and Dante enter the first circle on the mountain of Purgatory through a cleft in the rock (*Purg.* x. 7). On the sides of the path they see sculptured three examples of humility, viz., the Annunciation

(*Purg.* x. 40), David dancing before the ark (*Purg.* x. 65), and Trajan, who did justice to the poor widow (*Purg.* x. 74). At the lower right-hand corner they see the souls of the proud being purged, who bear heavy weights, which bow them toward the earth.

(Q.) Virgil and Dante meet three souls who are being purged from pride: Guglielmo Aldobrandeschi (*Purg.* xi. 59), Oderigi of Gubbio (*Purg.* xi. 79), and Provenzano Salviani (*Purg.* xi. 121). These three souls are supposed to represent the arrogance of the patrician (Aldobrandeschi), the vain-glory of the artist (Oderigi), and the ambition of the politician (Salviani).

This ends the series of small panels dealing with the purification of the human soul. We need not be surprised that the only specific sin dealt with is that of pride, as it was held to be the root of all evil. The pictures dealing with these scenes of preparation for the enjoyment of heaven are under the large frescoes, in which are gathered the saints who receive their crowns and are helped on their way heavenwards by the angels.

(R.) A subject of uncertain significance.

(S.) With the help of Cupid, Venus causes Dido to become enamoured of Æneas.

(T.) Herakles is forced to cross a stream with his wife Deianeira. Nessus offers to bear her across. The Centaur tries to carry her off instead, and is shot by Herakles. Nessus gives her a garment soaked in his blood as a charm against the infidelity of her husband. Deianeira becoming jealous sends Herakles a robe on which there is some of the blood. It poisons the hero, who dies on a funeral pyre. He is carried to Olympos and made immortal.

(U.) This may represent the war between Herakles and Hippokoön.

(V.) Devils torment the damned.

(W.) Andromeda is exposed on a rock. Kepheus, her father, prays that Perseus will rescue her from the monster. Perseus slays the dragon, and claims Andromeda as his bride (see *Metamorphoses* iv.).

(X.) Phineus, to whom Andromeda has been promised in marriage, breaks in upon the bridal banquet. Perseus when nearly overwhelmed by numbers shows the Gor-



Plan XX. — Cappella della Madonna, di S. Brizio, Duomo, Orvieto

gon's Head, and turns his enemies to stone (*Metamorphoses* v.).

The small panels from T to X are upon

the end wall of the chapel, and under the large fresco where the souls of the damned suffer. Passing to the side wall the two poets Ovid and Horace are under the fresco where the devils seize and carry off the souls of the damned.

The following panels surround the picture of Ovid: —

(Z.) Typhœus having dared to hope for an abode with the gods, is buried under the island of Sicily. The struggles of Typhœus cause earthquakes, and Pluto goes forth in his chariot to see if his kingdom of the underworld is in danger (*Metamorphoses* v.).

(A 2.) Diana and Pallas counsel Proserpina against love. Venus moves Cupid to shoot his dart at Pluto so that he may be touched by love of Proserpina, lest she, like Diana and Pallas, should renounce the empire of Venus (*Metamorphoses* v.).

(B 2.) Proserpina is beloved by Pluto, and while she is gathering flowers he carries her off in his chariot (*Metamorphoses* v.).

(C 2.) Keres goes in search of her daugh-

ter. Cupid points the way (*Metamorphoses* v.).

The following panels are painted round the picture of Horace:—

(E 2.) Eurydike having died of a snake bite, her husband, Orpheus, goes down into the underworld to recover her. He plays so sweetly on his lyre, that they who dwell there are charmed from their usual tasks. Pluto grants Eurydike to him on condition that he does not turn back to look at her.

(F 2.) Orpheus breaks through the condition laid on him; he looks back. Three devils seize Eurydike and drag her down into the underworld.

(G 2.) Æneas desires to visit the underworld to see his father. Charon objects to carry a living body across the river. The Sibyl shows the talisman of the golden bough, and they are ferried across the Stygian water (*Æneid* vi. 383-416).

(H 2.) Herakles having chained up Kerberos, descends into the underworld and liberates Theseus, who is seen armed with sword and shield.

This finishes the series under the fresco

of the devils seizing the damned. The last of the poets is Lucan; around his picture there are only two scenes.

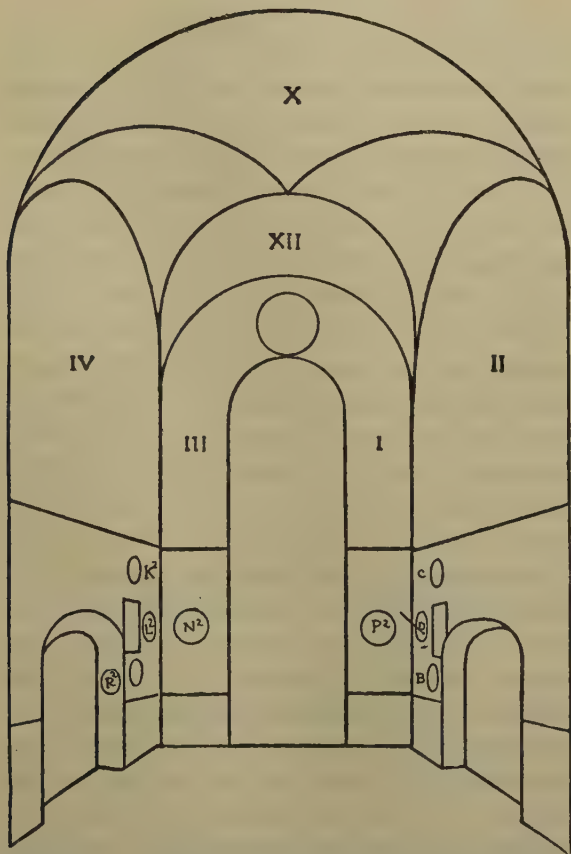
(K 2.) Probably a scene in the wars between Cæsar and Pompey, described in Lucan's *Pharsalia* iv. 235. The two armies have fraternized, and Petreius raises the passions of the soldiers of Pompey so that strife may be renewed.

(L 2.) After the battle of Pharsalia Pompey sails to Egypt, where he is slain by Achilles (*Pharsalia* viii. 718).

In the recess in the wall there are two small panels.

(M 2. Plan XX.) Probably represents the martyrdom of Faustinus — perhaps the saint of this name who suffered in the time of Diocletian.

(R 2. Plan XXI.) Probably represents the death of Pietro Parenzo, said to have been the first Podestà of Orvieto. He was sent to make peace in the city in 1199. He caused the towers of the nobles to be destroyed, and was treacherously murdered. His death was avenged by the Guelph party.



Plan XXI. — Cappella della Madonna, di S. Brizio, Duomo, Orvieto

The Signs of Judgment

We have now to deal with the second division of the process, viz., the signs of coming judgment and the reign of Antichrist.

(i., Plan XXI.) The first sign of judgment is the confusion on earth, the signs and wonders in heaven, and the perplexity of the nations described in Luke xxi. 25 and in Rev. vi. 12. It is an account of what follows on the opening of the sixth seal, when the sun became black as sackcloth of hair, and the moon became as blood, and the stars fell upon the earth. This fresco is on the entrance wall.

(ii., Plan XX.) The next sign is the reign of Antichrist. As we stand in the entrance, it is to our left, on the side wall. This is one of the finest frescoes in the series; it gives a remarkable picture of the trials and temptations of this life. It is a study of the evil and confusion in the world, the hopeless discord and futility of human life when there is no perception of its true significance nor of the end towards which men should strive. The coming of Antichrist

was a constant preoccupation of the mediæval mind. Around this mysterious conception centred all the evil tendencies of the world. His coming was to cause the falling away of many from the true faith, his dominion was to be short-lived, only extending to three and a half years, as in the Apocalypse; but it was to be bloody and disastrous beyond measure, and it was to precede the day of judgment.

It is this concentration of all the powers of evil which Signorelli strives to paint. The drama begins with the fall of the evil spirit driven out from heaven by the sword of the angel. Antichrist descends, as does the dove of the Holy Spirit, in rays from above. The coming of Antichrist, like his kingdom on earth, like the deeds by which he beguiles men and the means by which he imposes his rule over their souls, are in form the duplicates in evil of all the good that goes to the establishment of the kingdom of heaven. The descent of Antichrist brings evil and death, just as the descent of the Holy Spirit brings the gifts of healing. He falls amidst a crowd of men and women.

Some look upwards as if for guidance, others realize the tragedy of their lives, ending in nothing but futile effort, evil passion, despair, and death.

The coming of Antichrist is followed by the preaching of his kingdom. He stands on a pedestal, and, according to the promptings of the devil, he speaks to the crowd. There is no weak attempt to make him odious or diabolic; he is one of the most magnificent conceptions of Renaissance art. He is grave, reverend, and thoughtful, full of power and force; and yet with subtle art Signorelli makes it clear that the kingdom of darkness is overshadowing its king. At the foot of the pedestal lie rich vases full of coin, and other symbols of the voluptuous life by which Antichrist tempts the souls of men to destruction.

The false prophet is making no merely rhetorical appeal to the feelings; he knows the weaknesses of humanity, and he has a lure for all. He appeals to some by suasion and a false exposition of the Scriptures. We see the monks and learned men discuss his positions with the text before them;

they seem to be weighing the promises of the good things of this life against some faint recollection of a better and a higher ideal; their doubts give them an evil conscience, a troubled expression, and an irresolute air. Where persuasion fails Antichrist tempts by the working of miracles. In the background a sick person rises up in bed. The incident represents a cure of some disease or perhaps a revival from death; women render thanks, and a group of men look on in wonder and amazement.

Another group is tempted with gifts; a servant of Antichrist passes from one to another with an alert and acute air. A woman in the foreground unwillingly receives money from him; she turns away as she holds out her hand, and her face tells us that she knows it is the wages of sin.

Where all these temptations fail Antichrist falls back on violence and terror. When the appeal to the intellect, to the feelings, and to vicious longings has been resisted, he will break down resistance by persecution and bloodshed. In the foreground and to the left of the picture one of the emissaries of

evil strangles a man with a business-like precision characteristic of a Renaissance bravo; near by lies a monk with his head split open, and others have fallen by knife or dagger.

In the background is a magnificent palace, a fit abode for those who live in the pride of the eyes and the pride of life. About its porticoes move armed servants; some of them drag a prisoner to punishment, and in front of the entrance Antichrist stands watching over the martyrdom of Enoch and Elias, the two witnesses for God, in whose death the Kingdom of Evil was finally established.

The third sign of judgment is seen in the fresco on the entrance wall (iii., Plan XXI.). It describes the vehement fire that comes before the judgment; it is sent so that the old world may be purified, and that from it may come a new heaven and a new earth, unpolluted by discord. It also cleanses the sin of those who are alive at the second coming, and have not therefore climbed through the circles of Purgatory. It is as a pillar of fire to give light to the saints,

and to add to the torments of the damned.

The Resurrection

After the signs of judgment, there is the Resurrection (iv., Plan XX.) on the side wall. Two angels sound the trumpets of the resurrection, each trumpet having the banner of the cross. On the plain below many souls have already risen. They stand in groups, most of them gazing upwards in search of the power by which they have been awakened; others are still in the act of freeing themselves from the grave with much effort. Sometimes it is a skeleton that forces its way upwards, and to the right they stand in a group. The skeletons are probably placed here in accordance with the legend that one of the tokens of the coming judgment is that the bones of dead men shall issue out of their graves.

One group of souls stand in loving recollection of the tender affection they enjoyed on earth. They have a melancholy air, for they do not yet realize that now theirs is the life everlasting. There is not a single

example of theatrical pose, of weak or exaggerated feeling, or of forced action. It is a remarkable realization, that stamps itself indelibly on the mind.

The Judgment

Christ in judgment is depicted on the roof of the chapel (v., Plan XX.). He raises His right hand, and with His left He holds the globe of the universe. Outside the aureole of light which surrounds Him, are choirs of angels. This fresco is for the most part by Fra Angelico. In the other divisions of the vaulting of the roof are gathered the hierarchies of the old and new dispensations.

(vii. Plan XX.) The patriarchs were watchers for the coming of Christ. In the innocence of Abel, in the hope of Noah, in the obedience of Abraham, in the meekness of Moses, they taught the mysteries of the spiritual life. They were each as stars giving light to their own time, until Christ, the true morning star, brought the fulness of light to all men. The group of patriarchs is the work of Signorelli.



SIGNORELLI.—THE DOCTORS OF THE CHURCH

(viii. Plan XX.) The prophets, who foresaw and foretold the coming of Christ. St. John the Baptist sits nearest to the Saviour, and behind him is King David. This group is by Fra Angelico; the remaining divisions of the vault were painted by Signorelli.

(ix.) In the first harvest the prophets had laboured, and in the second their place was taken by the apostles. Madonna kneels nearest to Christ.

(x. Plan XX.) After the apostles there came martyrs, and when the martyrs were taken, there followed the doctors of the Church (xi.). It was through their preaching and teaching that the brightness of the light of the Gospel dispelled the dark shadows of ignorance. The Choir of Virgins (xii., Plans XX. and XXI.) has for its central figure St. Mary Magdalene. Many of them bear palms of martyrdom. They move the spirits of men so that they may fight the good fight and win the crown of life.

Thus we are taught how the goodly fellowship of the prophets, the glorious company of the apostles, the noble army of martyrs, and Holy Church throughout

the entire world acknowledge the infinite majesty of the glory of Christ.

The Fate of the Wicked

On the side wall to the right (xiii., Plan XX.) there is the scene in which the devils seize the damned and hurry them off to their allotted place. This is the least convincing of the four large frescoes, and yet no artist has ever more nearly conveyed in its terrible simplicity the vision which Dante calls up in *Inferno* iii. 16-18: "We are come to the place where I told thee thou shouldst see the wretched people who have lost the good of the intellect."

Signorelli has chosen the scene which occurs so often over the great doorways in thirteenth-century Gothic cathedrals. At Nôtre Dame, in Paris, the wicked are gathered in a chain and drawn hellwards in a mass. Here, at Orvieto, it is an individual struggle. Each devil seizes his victim, binds him, or clutches him in his arms and carries him off. Some fly away with their prey, and three armour-clad angels stand on guard, lest any of the lost souls should



SIGNORELLI. — THE FATE OF THE WICKED

escape toward the way of the blessed. The devils do their work too well for that, and the three are impassive onlookers, watching the struggle.

The devils gain in horror from their humanity. Some have wings, reminding us that they are fallen angels, others have horns, but there is no intention to dwell on such things, and there is no desire to gain effect by grotesque incident. It is essentially an intellectual hell, in which the terror is greater, inasmuch as man suffers in his highest faculties and by means of devils who are mainly differentiated from himself by calculated hate.

The fate of the wicked is continued on the right-hand side of the window (xiv., Plan XX.). The design follows generally the vision which Dante describes in the third canto of *Inferno*.

The group to the right of the picture await the coming of Charon's boat. His eyes are like glowing coal; he collects the sinners and smites with his oar whoever lingers. "As the leaves of autumn fall off one after the other . . . so one by one the

evil seed of Adam cast themselves from that shore . . . and ere they have landed on the other shore again a fresh crowd collects on this." In the background of the picture there is the "crew of caitiffs," dreary souls who lived without blame and without praise. "Their blind life is so mean that they are envious of every other lot." Their aimless existence on earth finds its counterpart on the confines of hell. They follow an ensign that ever moves quickly and yet leads nowhere.

The Lot of the Blessed

On the left hand (xv., Plan XX.) is the fresco describing the communion of saints in Paradise. The blessed are looking upwards, they have seen the wicked carried off to everlasting torment, and their faces still bear the signs of the stress of this world. The terror from which they have escaped weighs on their souls, they do not realize the bliss they are about to enjoy. And yet in the heaven above them all is peace. The nine choirs of angels join in unending harmonies. Two angels in the centre shed



SIGNORELLI. — THE LOT OF THE BLESSED

flowers upon the blessed, while others place crowns of victory upon their heads. In spite of all this joy there is not a smile on a single face, human or angelic.

It is a paradise of men and women who have passed through lives full of such experiences as make them grave even in the divine presence-chamber. Here there are no child-like monks embraced by child-like angels as in the Paradise of Fra Angelico. These are beings of a sterner mould, and they are still in the heaven from which the shadow of earth has not wholly passed. The waters of Lethe have not completely washed away the memory and the bitterness of worldly discords.

It is as though these artists of the Renaissance had cast away mediævalism without having found a new anchorage. The mournful gaze of Botticelli, the sceptical smile of Leonardo, the passionate unrest of Michel Angelo, and the shadow over Signorelli's Paradise show that none of these men had found a resolution of the problems they had to face. At first sight the crowd of naked forms and the intimate realization of their

anatomy seems to clash with a conception of the ideal; indeed, this picture has been regarded by some mainly as a study of the nude, and interesting as an example that may have inspired Michel Angelo.

It will fall more truly into its proper place, if we regard these grandly muscular forms, standing so firmly on their feet and facing us with such stern and grave purpose, as symbols of that fortitude, of that strength and fixity of will, and of that reverend regard for the relationships of life upon which character is based.

This company of the blessed assert the dignity of human nature alike in its physical and intellectual development. It is a protest against the mediæval conception which regarded the body as the prison-house of the soul, and this world merely as a place of preparation for the next.

If we compare a mediæval rendering of Paradise, such as that of Orcagna, with this Renaissance conception, we find in the former that each saint has his or her worldly rank in the spiritual hierarchy carefully recorded; here the individual does not

stand on the quality of distinctions made in this world. In the Paradise of Signorelli men and women appear as such, and not as bishops or abbesses or martyrs or virgins. We do not know who has borne the burden and heat of the day, or who has worked but one hour. Here they are all equal, the quality of humanity is enough.

The glory of Paradise is consummated on the wall to the left of the window (xvi., Plan XX.). Angels are making music, while others fly downwards to help and encourage the blessed souls on their way to the presence of God.

CHAPTER VI

THE CAPPELLA DEL CORPORALE

The Cappella del Corporale contains the reliquary, in which is preserved the visible signs of the miracle of Bolsena. The miracle was worked in the Church of Sta. Cristina at Bolsena. In 1263, a German priest, who was troubled with doubt about the Real Presence, made a pilgrimage to Rome, hoping to find peace of mind. He visited various sanctuaries by the way, and it thus happened that he came to celebrate mass at this place. As he broke the bread the wafer was turned into flesh, and blood dropped upon the cloth used in the office. Upon it there also appeared the image of the Saviour. At that time Pope Urban IV. was at Orvieto, and thither the priest went to tell what had befallen. The Bishop of Orvieto was sent to verify the facts, and

afterwards was ordered by the Pope to return to Bolsena and bring the relics to Orvieto. The Pope went out in procession to the bridge of Rio Chiaro to meet the returning bishop; children spread olive branches and flowers by the way, and all returned to the city with joy and gladness.

The miracle happened at an opportune time. In the year 1208 the blessed Giuliana, a nun at Liege, had a vision of an incomplete circle of light; it was revealed to her that the bright part represented the festivals held in honour of other mysteries, while the dark part signified that there was lacking a festival in honour of the Holy Sacrament. The institution of such a festival was attempted for a time at Liege, but the Pope hesitated to make it general throughout the Church, for he feared to make a liturgical innovation without some proof from heaven. The divine sanction was found in the miracle of Bolsena, and by a Bull of the 11th August 1264, the Pope ordered the celebration of a festival throughout the Catholic world. Thomas Aquinas was ordered to compose an office and a mass for the celebration

which was ordained for the glory of the Holy Sacrament, and the confounding of heretics.

In the middle of the thirteenth century the Manichean heresy was rife, and besides maintaining the principle of dualism, many of the heretical sects were inclined to deny the Real Presence. The miracle of Bolsena came, therefore, as a most welcome means of strengthening the position of the Church against her enemies.

We now turn to the frescoes of the Chapel of the Corporale. They were painted originally between the years 1357 and 1364 by Ugolino di Prete Ilario and his assistants.

The frescoes on the side walls nearest to the reliquary have been repainted; while those on the walls nearest to the nave are almost destroyed. The entire series in the chapel, both on the walls and the roof, have a Eucharistic significance.

PLAN XXII (p. 349)

Beginning with the paintings on the roof over the reliquary:— (a.) Melchisedek offers bread and wine to Abraham. The legend

runs, "Melchisedek, King of Salem, offered to Abraham bread and wine, for he was a priest of the Most High God." In the lunette beneath, St. Jerome explains that Melchisedek is to be interpreted as King of Justice and King of Peace; he signifies Christ, King of all priests.

In (b.) Abraham welcomes the three angels. He sees three, but adores only one. He brings water and washes their feet, and sets food before them. St. Basil, in the lunette below, says: "He adored the Saviour, showing His coming, and he foresaw the future mystery of the Sacrament."

In (c.) Moses and the Israelites gather manna. The legend is, "He gave them bread from heaven having all virtue in it."

(d.) Elijah is aroused by the angel; he kneels and adores, and then eats. He climbs Mount Horeb. In the strength of this food he went forty days and forty nights up to the Mount of God. *In the lunette*, St. Gregory says, "The angel which fed Elijah, that is, the angel of 'great council,' is Christ, by whose help we exist both in our bodily and spiritual nature."

The four divisions of the roof nearest to the nave of the church have the following representations: —

(e.) In the upper part Christ stands with the seven candlesticks about Him; over them is the Host. Below, Christ appears as the rider on the white horse, crowned and armed. He shoots an arrow at the devil. The legend says, "A crown is given to Thee, and as a conqueror, Thou shalt go forth to conquer."

In the lunette below, Christ stands among His disciples holding the Host, and declares that he who eats shall have life eternal.

(f.) A figure kneels in confession, and St. Paul, pointing to the chalice and the wafer on the altar, warns mankind that whosoever eats and drinks unworthily eats and drinks to his own damnation.

(g.) Christ in a glory of angels and holding the chalice and wafer appears to St. Augustine, who hears a voice from heaven. It is shown to him that as the bodily man grows by eating food, so the spiritual man must feed on Christ. In the lunette below, there is a representation of the Last Supper.

Christ gives the wafer to Peter and says, "Take, eat, this is my body."

(h.) St. Thomas Aquinas kneels at an altar, to prepare himself for writing the new office for the festival of the "Corpus Domini." On the altar there is a book, on the pages of which is written, "I am the true food." *Above the altar* is a crucifix, and from it Christ speaks to St. Thomas: "Thou hast well written of Me, Thomas, therefore thou shalt receive the reward of thy labours."

The picture in the lunette below is defaced. The scheme of this roof seems to be summed up in the saying, "By partaking of the body and blood of Christ we pass into that which we then take, and both in spirit and in body we carry everywhere Him, in whom and with whom we were dead and buried."

We now turn to the narrative frescoes *on the wall*, beginning with those which give an account of the miracle, on the right-hand side of the chapel.

No. 1. The miracle of blood falling from the Host, in the Church of Sta. Cristina, at Bolsena.

No. 2. The priest comes to tell the Pope of the miracle.

No. 3. The Pope sends the Bishop of Orvieto to verify the miracle.

No. 4. The Bishop of Orvieto finds the corporale spotted with blood.

No. 5. The Pope at the head of the people and clergy meet the bishop on his return. The Pope kneels as the corporale is exposed.

No. 6. The corporale is shown to the people.

No. 7. St. Thomas Aquinas presents the office for the celebration of Corpus Domini, which the Pope has ordered him to write.

Passing to the frescoes on the left wall —

Nos. 8, 9, and 10 represent a fisherman putting the Host into the mouth of a fish. Three years later he confesses what he has done. The priest and the fisherman recover the Host.

No. 11. A hermit who disbelieves in the Real Presence is brought to the altar. As the priest raises the Host, it is changed into the likeness of a child.

No. 12. St. Gregory, having consecrated the Host, presents it to an unbelieving



Plan XXII. — Cappella del Corporale, Duomo, Orvieto

woman, who by it receives faith in the Sacrament.

Nos. 13, 14, 15. A Jewish child has received the communion along with a number of Christian children. The indignant father thrusts the child into a glass-blower's furnace. The mother calls her neighbours. They rescue the child, and put the father into the furnace in his place.

Nos. 16, 17, 18. Hugh of St. Victor, when sick, is presented with the unconsecrated Host. He detects and refuses it. The consecrated Host is brought, and he sits up in bed and worships. In the next painting Hugh says, "Let the Son return to the Father, and my soul to its Saviour." In the fresco we see the wafer passing upwards, and the soul of the dead man, shining with a brilliant radiance, carried to heaven by angels.

No. 19. A number of Christian prisoners have been taken by Mussulmans in battle. Among them is a chaplain. The Saracen king demands to see what the chaplain can make out of bread, otherwise the prisoners will be slain.

No. 20. The chaplain celebrates mass, and the Host is changed into a child.

The Christians kneel on one side of the altar, and the Saracens on the other.

No. 21. The Child stands on the altar bearing the cross. The king is seated on his throne. Some of the soldiers kneel, and many conversions take place.

No. 22. *In a window* opening to the right of the entrance, it is possible to see traces of the offerings made by Cain and Abel, and the sacrifice of Gideon.

No. 23. To the left of the entrance, *below the first lunette*, there is a representation of the meal of the Passover.

No. 24. On the *underside of the arch*, to the left of the entrance, three frescoes show how a heretic attempted to deceive a believer with a representation of a false Madonna and Child. The believer takes advice of St. Peter Martyr. The saint elevates the Host, and the Child falls from the knee of the false representation.

The reliquary, in which is preserved the corporale, was made by Ugolino di Maestro Vieri in 1337. It is adorned with eight

representations of the story of the miracle and seven scenes from the life of Christ.

1. The Priest says Mass. 2. The Priest tells the Pope of the Miracle. 3. The Pope sends the Bishop to inquire. 4. The Bishop verifies the Priest's Account. 5. The Bishop returns with the Corporale. 6. The Pope comes out of Orvieto to meet him. 7. The Pope shows the Corporale to the People. 8. St. Thomas Aquinas presents a copy of the Office he has written for the Festival. 9. The Entry into Jerusalem. 10. The Last Supper. 11. The Washing of the Feet. 12. The Sermon to the Apostles after the Supper.

Below these are representations of the Annunciation, the Nativity, and the Adoration of the Magi. At the four corners are figures of the four Evangelists.

The Font

Near the western door, which is most commonly used, there is a font of Renaissance workmanship. It is supported on a base carried by eight lions. The work was begun in 1390 by Luca di Giovanni of Siena and it was finished in 1407, while Sano di Matteo

of Siena was Capo Maestro. The font is of the traditional octagonal form.

The most noteworthy thing is the sculpture on a small fillet which surrounds the basin. In addition to some ornamental work there are allegorical subjects not easy to explain. One subject shows a wolf suckling children, while another wolf carries off a lamb. It has been suggested that the one wolf is the true Pope who nourishes the Church, while the other is the Antipope who ravages the fold. There are besides symbols of the seven virtues. Faith is indicated by the Host and chalice, next is Hope, and beyond there is a figure with a flaming censer expressive of charity. Prudence, justice, temperance, and fortitude are also personified. They appear here as the result of the purification and illumination wrought by the waters of baptism.

Near the font on the wall of the aisle is a fresco by Gentile de Fabriano (1360, 70-1427, 28?). The picture has been much damaged; it is still, however, a charming example of Umbrian sentiment.

CHAPTER VII

OTHER CHURCHES

S. DOMENICO was begun on a small scale in 1233, but in 1245 the plan was changed by the Cardinal Anibaldo Anibaldeschi in favour of a more magnificent church with a large convent attached. The designs of the cardinal were too ambitious. The vast structure remained in an incomplete state until the seventeenth century, when it was finished off on a smaller scale.

St. Thomas Aquinas, who lived in Orvieto for a year, from 1263 to 1264, persuaded Urban IV. to consecrate this church. It is said that the learned doctor not only taught theology in the town, but wrote, during the time of his visit, the office of the Corpus Domini, the first book of the *Catena Aurea*, and his commentary upon the *De Anima* of Aristotle. An ancient wooden crucifix, and

a chair in this church, are shown as having been used by St. Thomas. The chief object of interest is the monument erected by Arnolfo del Cambio (1232-1310) to Cardinal Guglielmo di Bray, who died in Orvieto in 1280. The tomb may be compared with the similar design by Giovanni Pisano for the monument to Benedict XI. in the Church of S. Domenico in Perugia.

The design of the cardinal's tomb is architecturally superior to the monument at Perugia. The lower part, ornamented with mosaic, is particularly successful. The recumbent figure, with severely simple drapery, is very fine in general outline. But the face of the cardinal cannot compare with the magnificently dignified features of the dead Pope by Giovanni Pisano.

The theme of the curtain-drawing angels was probably invented by Arnolfo, and used by him on this monument for the first time. These angels have no wings, and are clothed in dalmatics. They seem busily concerned with their duties, and are altogether less restrained and less beautiful than the angels of Giovanni at Perugia. Above the lying

statue is a seated Madonna and Child on a throne richly ornamented with mosaics and twisted columns. On either side, under niches, are the figures of St. Dominic, and the kneeling cardinal, presented to the Virgin by a Dominican monk.

The majestic figure of the Madonna recalls something of the imperial air of the Virgin by Niccolo Pisano on the pulpit at Pisa.

A sepulchral chapel in the church was built by Michele Sammicheli for one of the Petrucci family of Siena, who died in Orvieto in 1517.

S. Andrea, in the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele, is an ancient church built before the middle of the twelfth century, upon the site of a Roman temple dedicated to Juno. The church has no architectural features of interest, and is noteworthy chiefly from its associations with some of the most solemn events and deeds of the mediæval republic. On the Feast of the Assumption it was the custom for the conquered towns and castles annually to offer their tribute as a sign of submission to the Orvietans at the doorway of S. Andrea. Pietro Parenzo, the

first Podestà, who was murdered in Orvieto, was canonized here.

In 1281 Martin IV. received the papal tiara in this church, in the presence of Charles of Anjou. On a pier of the crossing, to the right, is a small pulpit richly inlaid with cosmati work.

The Church of S. Francesco, built upon the highest part of the city, dates from 1229. It was in this building that Boniface VIII. canonized St. Louis, King of France, in 1297. The church was also the scene of the magnificent funeral of Prince Henry of England, murdered by Guy de Montfort in Viterbo in 1273. There were present on the occasion the English king, Edward I., and his queen, as well as Charles of Anjou and Pope Gregory X.

Several members of the famous Monaldeschi family are buried in this church.

S. Giovenale is probably the oldest Orvietan church, having been constructed in 1004 at the expense of the families of the Monaldeschi, Rinaldini, and the Counts of Marsciano.

The building underwent radical modifica-

tions in the thirteenth century, and again in 1640, but some traces still remain of the Romanesque period. The high altar, for example, is formed of a marble slab covered with interlacing patterns of crosses and circles. On the pilasters at the corners are the figures of a dove, a griffin, a bishop, and the Archangel Michael. The date 1170 may be seen on the side. The church also possesses an interesting ivory casket of Romanesque workmanship, with the symbolical figures of a lamb between a peacock and a pelican, signifying the Redeemer, who, by His sacrifice, bestowed the gift of everlasting beatitude upon man. Christ is symbolized by the lamb, His sacrifice by the pelican, and immortality by the peacock.

The Monastery of SS. Severo and Martirio, known as La Badia, is about one and a half miles beyond the Porta Romana. It can be reached by carriage from the road, or on foot by pleasant paths through vine and olive gardens. The building was begun in the eighth century, and was enlarged and enriched at different times up to the fourteenth century. The ten-sided campanile

in the Romanesque style was added by the Countess Matilda, who died in 1117. Some marble fragments, remains of the older construction, may be seen built into the walls of the tower. The windows are round-arched and divided by a single column.

The cloister has round-headed windows with Romanesque ornament, but the capitals of the columns are Gothic in character. The monastery was inhabited by Benedictine monks until 1221. It was then given by Honorius III. to the regular canons of the Premonstratensians. In 1423 Martin V. bestowed it upon the Olivetans, who in turn were dispossessed by Eugenius IV. in 1442, and the rich monastery passed into the hands of Cardinal Barbo, the nephew of the Pope.

The Well of St. Patrick (Pozzo di S. Patrizio), near to the fortress, is an ingenious and unusual construction built by the architect, San Gallo, in 1527. Clement VII. had fled to Orvieto for refuge after the sack of Rome by the Constable Bourbon; and fearing that the water supply of the town would prove deficient in the case of a siege,

he ordered the construction of this magnificent well. The shaft is about one hundred and eighty feet deep, and forty-six feet in diameter. There are two staircases, one for the ascent, and the other for the descent, wide enough for the passage of mules. The walls are pierced by seventy-two windows, and through these openings, one can see far down at the bottom a speck of water circled round by a green wall of delicate ferns. It is said that San Gallo took the idea of this stairway from Niccolo Pisano's designs for the campanile at Pisa. Clement VII. died before the completion of the structure, and his successor Paul III. gave the work to Simon Mosca, who transformed the balls of the Medici arms, which Clement had placed above the door, into the lilies of the Farnese house.

The inscription on the upper building runs, *QUOD NATURA MUNIMENTO INVIDERAT INDUSTRIA ADJECIT*. "Industry supplies what nature is unwilling to bestow."

VOLUME II

PART I

Perugia

The Umbrian Cities of Italy

Volume II

PART I — PERUGIA

CHAPTER I

HISTORY OF PERUGIA IN THE MIDDLE AGES

MANY chronicles relating to the history of the town of Perugia have been preserved, and many historians have written of the events which happened within her walls; but the best of them agree that there is great doubt in regard to the facts, and the causes which produced the events are often still more obscure.

The following notes are not therefore to be regarded as an accurate historical statement. Nothing more is attempted than a brief outline of current tradition respecting circumstances affecting Perugia in the Middle Ages.

Repeated conquests by Goths early in the

fifth century, by Lombards (568 A. D.), and Franks (774 A. D.) produced in Italy a population composed of many races, none of which willingly joined with the others to form a truly organic society. An illustration of this is found in the maintenance of various systems of law, so that of people living in the same town some might claim to be ruled by Roman and some by Lombard law.

The natural order of things in Italy ceased to exist after the settlement of the Teutonic tribes, for the lower form of civilization was politically predominant. The men who owned the land and who ruled the country were of barbarian descent, while the more highly civilized descendants of the Latin races were the landless dwellers in the towns.

The Church alone united in herself all the best elements of the national existence; she inherited classical culture from the ancient civilization, she modelled her organization on that of imperial Rome, she was heir to the enormous wealth representing the spiritual life, the terrors, and the devotion of generations. With the organization and the influence of imperial Rome, the Church inherited



A STREET IN PERUGIA

the desire for temporal dominion, and to some extent this interfered with her efficiency as the most powerful defender of Latin traditions in opposition to Teutonic civilization. The claims of the Church to the possession of territories in Central Italy frequently alienated the sympathies of the town populations, who were otherwise her natural allies, and though it is unfair to say that the Church was the source of Italian divisions, it is true that her temporal ambition stood in the way of her power to make for peace and unity.

Between the mediæval empire and its margraves and counts and the mediæval Church, there was the inherent opposition due to two different ideals of life. Between the Church and the town dwellers of Italy there was only the occasional and temporary opposition due to the quarrels of two closely connected powers. The Church and the townsmen stand for Latin life; the Germanic empire, the Lombard dukes, the Frankish margraves, counts, and landowners represent Teutonic life.

For centuries the struggle between these two ideals continued; the faction fights of Guelph and Ghibelline representing only a

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short and comparatively unimportant phase of a division which affected every relation of life and the development of all human energies.

Although some towns, such as Pisa, Siena, and Arezzo were usually found supporting the Teutonic empire, partly owing to local conditions and to jealousy of trade rivals who took the other side, nevertheless it remains true that the townsmen were of the Latin party, and that when no question of political domination interfered they were allies of the Church.

In the introductory note on the general history of Umbria it has been stated that when the Frankish kings Pippin and Charles overthrew the power of the Lombards, they granted or confirmed to the Pope the possession of certain parts of Italy. There is doubt about what actually happened, but there need be no doubt that the Pope asserted a claim to sovereignty over Perugia and the surrounding country.

The practical effect of this overlordship was serious or not according to circumstances. It did not become persistent until the fifteenth

century, and it was not established beyond question till Paul III. built his great fortress in 1540.

The gradual breaking up of the Karling empire, which occupied the century and a half succeeding the death of Charles the Great (814-962), has left no traces in the history of Perugia that need concern us. But the re-establishment of the Teutonic empire under Otto the Great (962-973) and the purification of the Papacy effected by Hildebrand (1013?-1085) mark a new era in the history of Italy and indeed of the whole western world. After this revival the imperial power in Central Italy was represented by a marquis. In 1027 Boniface the Pious was appointed to this office, and as he was the holder of many fiefs in Lombardy his position became one of power and dignity. He was succeeded in the imperial marquisate as well as in his other possessions by his descendants, of whom the great Countess Matilda was the last. Her territory extended from Mantua in the north to Chiusi and the neighbourhood of Perugia in the south.

The death of the Countess Matilda in 1115

removed the direct pressure of external authority, and was the opportunity for the beginning of a vigorous and semi-independent life in many Italian communes, for though the Empire and the Papacy had their respective claims to the allegiance of the people, the quarrels of these two great powers left the towns a good deal of scope. War between the Church and the Empire began in the eleventh century under Hildebrand and Henry IV. During the early part of the twelfth century the quarrel proceeded fitfully, but after the accession of Barbarossa it broke out afresh, and never ceased till the Empire was exhausted a century later. The struggle was carried on by the three Hohenstauffen emperors, Frederick Barbarossa (1152-1190), Henry VI. (1190-1197), and Frederick II. (1220-1250). On the other side, the Papacy was represented by such men as Alexander III. (1159-1181), Innocent III. (1198-1216), Gregory IX. (1227-1241), and Innocent IV. (1243-1254).

The contest was many-sided. It was a war between the spiritual and the temporal power on points of jurisdiction; it was a war be-

tween an Italian power and a foreign invader; and, more than all, it was a war between ideals, between Roman and barbarian, between a municipal civilization and a feudal society. During this long duel the towns were, as a rule, against the Hohenstauffens and the feudal nobility. The result of the contest was the downfall of the Teutonic Empire so far as Italy was concerned, and the communes gained greatly in power and in vigorous and independent life. The period of conquest and victory came to an end with the battles of Beneventum (1266) and Tagliacozzo (1268), in which the Hohenstauffen power was destroyed, and the triumph of the Guelph party was assured.

At the beginning of this period (1166 A. D.), Frederick Barbarossa, when at the height of his power, visited Perugia. The city submitted itself to him, and it is said that some of the noble families, including the Baglioni, were descended from soldiers who settled in the city at this time. Again, in 1185, Henry, the son of Barbarossa, came to Perugia, and granted many privileges, including castles and lands, and particularly all that the Count-

ess Matilda had owned within Perugian territory. The death of the Emperor Henry VI. in 1197, and the accession of Innocent III. in 1198, re-established papal influence.

There was, however, no great exercise of authority on the part of the Pope, and at the beginning of the thirteenth century it is evident that the government of the city was based on the trade guilds, associations which in all the Italian communes formed the rallying point for the townsmen against the aggression of the nobles.

The executive power of the city was in the hands of Consuls of the Arts, the judicial power was exercised by a *podestà*, who was chosen from some other town, and the armed force was commanded by a Captain of the People. Behind these executive powers the legislative power was exercised by a number of councils, the most important of which were a Council of the Rectors of the Arts or Guilds, and a Council of 500 "good men" of the Arts.

About the middle of the thirteenth century we begin to find mention of a "*studio*," a scholastic guild, such as grew up in many

towns without authorization of Pope or emperor, "a product," says Mr. Rashdall,¹ "of that instinct of association which swept like a great wave over the towns of Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries." This "studio" developed into a university, and received papal recognition early in the fourteenth century. Its work was helped by the foundation of two houses for the residence of foreign students. These were known as the Sapienza Vecchia (founded in 1368), and the Sapienza Nuova (founded in 1427).

Throughout the thirteenth century the city does not seem to have suffered much from civil strife. There were three parties, the nobles, the rich burghers, and the people; but in the struggle with the Empire they probably found an outlet for their energies. The rich burghers were called "Raspanti," and the people, the "popolo minuto," were known as "Beccherini."

After the defeat and death of the Hohenstauffen King Manfred in 1266, although the Guelph party was supreme, there was still unrest, and towards the end of the century

¹ *Universities of Europe*, vol. ii. part i.

there were signs of a change in the form of government.

In the later years of the thirteenth century the chief executive power was in the hands of consuls, the predecessors of the priors who are first mentioned in the early years of the fourteenth century. Both seem to have depended upon the trade guilds, and it is pretty certain that the changes, whatever they may have been, were made in the interests of the Guelph party.

To understand the city politics of this time we must turn for a moment to the relation of the Papacy with the Empire and with France. The Empire had not recovered from the shock of the overthrow of the Hohenstauffens, and except in the case of fruitless expeditions under Henry VII. (1308 - 1313) and Louis of Bavaria (1314 - 1347), Italy was free from direct interference. The power of the King of France had, however, grown as that of the Empire declined, and the high-handed policy of Pope Boniface VIII. (1294-1303), together with the unscrupulousness of Philip the Fair, King of France (1285-1314), ended in the downfall of the political power of the Papacy.

Benedict XI., the successor of Boniface VIII., died in Perugia in 1304, and the election which followed led to the seventy years' residence of the papal court at Avignon.

It thus happened that for a large part of the fourteenth century, the Italian communes were left to develop in comparative freedom.

In Guelph cities this state of things favoured the rich burghers, since the nobles had suffered along with the Hohenstauffens, and the spoils of the defeated party had fallen into the hands of the most influential and powerful men among the Guelphs. We find, therefore, that in Perugia, during the first seventy years of the fourteenth century, the "popolo grasso," or Raspanti, held the rule of the city mainly in their hands. The government was still founded on the organization of the trade guilds, but the election to the higher offices, partly controlled by nomination and partly the result of lot, were fenced about by rules excluding all participation in the government of the city by the nobles. This spirit of exclusion was carried so far that a fine was imposed upon any noble who entered the palace of the priors. Such a policy

was not peculiar to Perugia, and we cannot wonder that it should have led to plots against the ruling class in the city. Between the years 1360 and 1370 there was frequent strife, and in 1368, when the victorious Raspanti had beheaded a number of their opponents, the Pope interfered, and declared that those who were slain were his friends. As the government by the rich burghers had caused dissatisfaction in other ways, the city turned against them, and a series of papal legates ruled until 1376, when all classes rose against the legate, the Abbot of Mommaggiore, and drove him out. This revolution resulted in the establishment of a government by the "popolo minuto," in which neither nobles nor Raspanti were allowed to have a part. The change, however, produced no better results, and in 1393 Biordi Michelotti, the leader of the Raspanti, established himself in the lordship of the city. He was murdered in 1398, and so distracted and divided were the citizens that they actually gave up the town to the Duke of Milan in exchange for protection. The failure of the "popolo grasso" and the "popolo minuto" naturally helped

to improve the position of the nobles who had been driven from the city. At the head of this party was an able condottiere, Braccio Fortebraccio (1416-1424), who succeeded in making good his rule in the town in 1416. The battle in which he was victorious over Carlo Malatesta, the condottiere employed by the townsmen, is said to be represented in a picture by Paolo Ucello, now in the National Gallery.

It was during the rule of Fortebraccio that by the efforts of a general council of the Church the scandal of three Popes all claiming the allegiance of the faithful was brought to an end. Martin V., of the Roman family of the Colonna, was elected in 1417, and the consolidation of the power of the Papacy brought the period of popular government in Perugia to a close. The new line of Popes adopted the side of the nobles and favoured the government of the town by the heads of that party. Piccinino, a famous condottiere and a native of Perugia, was the chief man in the city from 1442 till his death in 1444. This, however, was only an interlude, the general trend of affairs put more and more power into the

hands of the nobles, the chief among their leaders being members of the Baglioni family. During the latter part of the fifteenth century Guido Baglioni was the most important man in the State. Papal patronage since the time of Martin V. enabled the nobles to hold their own against the citizens, but it could not insure peace within the ranks of the party itself. The families of the Baglioni and the Oddi were at the head of two opposing factions, and the strife was the more bitter, inasmuch as it was the result of personal rivalry and not of any question of principle. This feud is typical of many that had preceded it, and its issue in the exile of the beaten faction is an example of constant recurrence in Italian history.

The whole story illustrates the social life of Perugia so admirably, and allows us to see how complete was the political disintegration of the time, that it may be worth telling at length.

It was on Saturday, the 25th October, 1488, soon after midnight, that cries of "Oddi" and "Baglioni" were heard in the piazza, and all night the people stood in arms. On

Sunday each side waited and watched the other.

On Monday the shops were closed, and the Baglioni faction fortified and garrisoned the Duomo, while the Oddi fortified their houses in the district of the Via Verzarò and the Piazza degli Aratri.

On Tuesday there was much hard fighting, the object of the Oddi being to try to enter the piazza; but the Corgneschi barred the way from the Porta Susanna and the Baglioni commanded the other entrances. On that evening the fathers of the Osservanza, Guido Baglioni himself, and some of the wives of the Oddi who were themselves Baglioni, tried to make peace. On Wednesday the whole city was under arms, and the artisans gathered in the loggia of the Duomo demanding that the turmoil should cease. On Thursday Guido Baglioni began to burn the houses of the friends of the Oddi, until at last these latter, knowing that the Baglioni could get help from outside, and being counselled by Simone of the Oddi, agreed to leave the town, and on that night, the 30th October, thirty-seven men of the Oddi and six hundred of

their friends went out by the Porta Susanna and so to Castiglione del Lago.

After the expulsion of the Oddi, "though there were famous and worthy men in the city, there were every day to be seen new excesses, and the city was without reason and justice." Many legates were sent by the Pope, but they had no authority. All the offices were to be bought, and extortion and oppression caused all men to lament. Upon the Baglioni fell the greatest punishment, however, for family feuds and rivalries led to a plot by which Grifone Baglioni hoped to slay all his kinsmen and attain the lordship of the city. Guido, the head of the house, with several of his sons and nephews, fell. One, however, Gianpaolo, "made wise and prudent by God at this point," thought of going into the house of a private citizen, and so leaving a man-at-arms to defend the staircase, he escaped by the roofs of neighbouring houses, and took refuge in the rooms of some foreign students. After having eaten, and clothed himself as a scholar, he went in company with two of them through the Porta Eburnea. Returning with soldiers he had no

difficulty in establishing his power in the city, and those concerned in the conspiracy were punished. This happened in 1500, and for twenty years Gianpaolo ruled. He met his match at last in the Medici Pope Leo X., who, having become suspicious of him, invited him to Rome in 1520. So on the 12th March, on a Monday, on the Feast of S. Gregory, there left from Perugia Gianpaolo, and entered the Castle of S. Angelo in Rome to have audience of the Pope. He was made prisoner, and on the 11th June his head was cut off, and he was buried that same evening in S. Maria Transpontina. It is affirmed that he went to death "very patiently, and with great devotion confessed many times, and obtained from the Pope all the indulgences, so much so that the Frati, who were at his death and confession, affirm that he died in great holiness."

Twenty years after this, Paul III. finally subjugated the city by building a fortress, which was destroyed only in our own time when Italy was united as a free people under the leadership of the house of Savoy.

CHAPTER II

THE GATEWAYS AND THE WALLS

THERE is no more easy or interesting way to make an acquaintance with the town of Perugia than to visit the ancient gateways and such parts of the old walls as are accessible and may yet be seen. These are the remains of the earliest life of the town. The large blocks of stone which form the lower courses of the gateways and appear in some parts of the walls are attributed to Etruscan builders. Above is seen the more modern work of the Romans, particularly at the Arco di Agosto, while in other cases a mediæval battlement, as at the Porta Eburnea, reminds us of the struggles between the nobles and people in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The Arco di Agosto is reached by passing ,

to the north of the Duomo and going down the Via Vecchia. The architectural forms of this arch are of the simplest. The Roman part of the building is supposed to have been finished about eighty years before the building of the Arch of Constantine in Rome, and although there is no sculptural decoration and no attempt at magnificence, the gateway of Perugia is a more impressive monument than that erected to the glory of the emperor. The most interesting part of the walls may be seen by climbing the steep path, which is really a staircase, to the left of the gateway. It leads to a little terrace at the top, from which there is a magnificent view. To the extreme right is seen one of the outlying spurs of Monte Subasio. To the north are the Apennines about Gubbio, to the west is Monte Pacciano, the source of the mediæval water supply. In the near foreground is the Church of S. Agostino; beyond it is the circular Church of S. Angelo, and the mass of brickwork of the time of Fortebraccio which marks the Porta S. Angelo. The whole of this north-western arm of the town is set on a ridge, from which steep valleys, covered with vines

and olives, run sharply down into the low country.

We may reach another point in the Etruscan walls where they are pierced by a gateway in the Via Appia. A sharp turn to the left down a narrow passage at the top of the Via Vecchia leads to this street. It begins as a staircase, and reaches the northeastern part of the town near the Museum on a series of arches.

The Via Bontempi leads from the little piazza in front of the main entrance of the Duomo, steeply down the hill, and so on to the Porta Pesa at the northeast corner of the city. The Etruscan walls are pierced by the ancient gateway of the Porta Sole about half-way down the Via Bontempi.

The ancient gateway at the southeastern corner of the city is reached from the Piazza Sopramuro by going along the Via del Ospedale and turning down the Via S. Ercolano. The Etruscan gate is about half-way down this steep stairway. The best point of view is from the piazza in front of the Church of S. Ercolano. Near by, on the other side of this

church, the remains of the ancient Porta Marzia have been built into the bastion, which has taken the place of the fortress of Paul III., destroyed since the establishment of the kingdom of United Italy. From this point the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele may be easily reached.

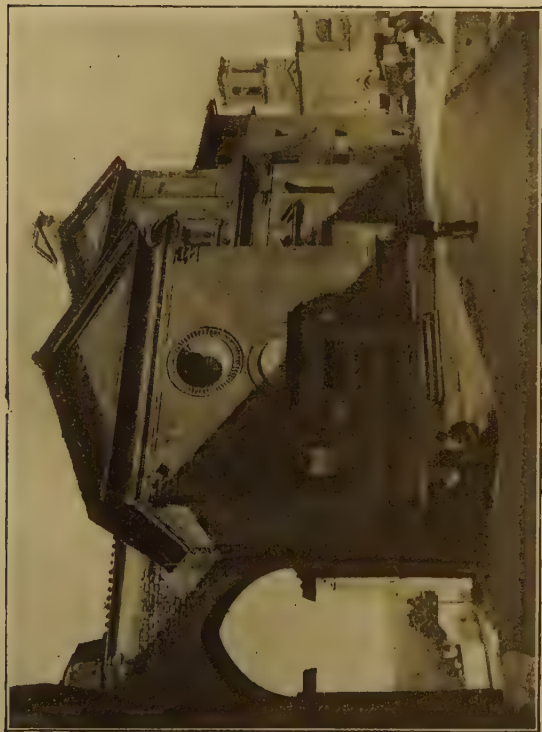
The southwestern gate of the town, the Porta Eburnea, is reached from the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele by turning down the broad stairway to the north of the Bank of Italy. At the bottom we turn to the left for a few yards, and then to the right down the Via Cesare Caporali. Passing to the left of the little Church of Sant' Angelo d'Eburnea down the Via Bruschi, we come to the ancient gateway of the Porta Eburnea. It has a mediæval battlement over the arch, and surrounded as it is by picturesque streets, it forms one of the most interesting parts of the town. On St. John's day it was the custom for the men of this gate to have a fine procession; they were joined by the priors and the students from the Sapienza, and all went with torches to the church — probably the Duomo. After dinner the men recited the

story of the prophet Jonah, and went dancing through the city.

If we pass under the arch and turn sharply to the right and go down the staircase called the Via Paradiso we reach the modern Porta Eburnea. Outside this gate a pathway leads along the western side of the city. It is a charming walk, having the walls of the ancient, and the houses of the modern city rising high on one side, while on the other gardens and vineyards cover the slopes which fall steeply into the valley below. The city may be re-entered by the Porta Susanna.

The western gate of the town, the Porta Susanna, is reached by the Via dei Priori, which leaves the Corso by an archway under the Palazzo Pubblico; the street runs steeply and directly down to the Porta Susanna. In passing down the Via dei Priori there will be observed to the left an archway leading into the Via della Cupa; a few yards down this last-named street the Via Deliziosa opens to the right. A gateway at No. 5 leads to the house of Perugino, with an inscription at the foot of the staircase.

The eastern side of the town and the walls



PORTA SUSANNA



STATUE OF POPE JULIUS III

supporting the Piazza del Sopramuro may be seen by entering a gateway at No. 6 Via del Ospedale which is generally open. A few steps into the garden enables the visitor to see the arches and walling, which follow roughly the lines of the ancient Etruscan walls.

The mediæval life of Perugia centred round the Piazza di San Lorenzo and the Piazza del Sopramuro.

If we stand on the steps of the Duomo leading up to the small door in its southern wall and look straight towards the Corso we shall have close to our right hand the bronze statue of Pope Julius III. (1550-1555) who was thus honoured in return for the concessions granted in mitigation of the heavy taxes imposed by Paul III. upon the city. Further to our right is a loggia built by Braccio Fortebraccio (1416-1424). Beyond this are the buildings of the Canonica. Turning at right angles and still looking to the right we see the archivescovile. The building may be recognized by its modern frescoes in monochrome representing the four cardinal virtues. Turning again at right angles there is straight in front of our standpoint the Palazzo Pubblico,

containing the library, the picture gallery, and the public offices of the town.

Keeping to the same standpoint at the southern door of the Cathedral and turning to the left, there is close to us, built on the wall of the Duomo, the pulpit from which the great preachers of the fifteenth century spoke to the crowds in the piazza.

Looking still to the left, the building at the southeastern corner of the piazza, opposite to the Palazzo Pubblico, was the old Hall of the Notaries; according to tradition Perugino once used part of this building as his workshop.

In the open space of the Piazza di S. Lorenzo is the public fountain. The piazza was the scene of nearly all the great public acts and events which make up the history of the town. It was here, for instance, that she realized her territorial greatness. On the day of S. Ercolano the subject towns paid their tribute. Some sent "palii," pieces of cloth or silk, others a richly caparisoned horse. This ceremony is mentioned in 1314, and in 1381 it is recorded that nineteen lands and cities offered tribute.



PULPIT ON THE DUOMO

The learned life of the town was centred in the Piazza Supramuro. On the eastern side of the open space which is now used for the market, are the buildings formerly occupied by the Captain of the People and by the University; they date from the years 1472 and 1483 respectively. The walls on which the piazza rests on its eastern sides are mentioned as early as in 1275.

The principal points of interest in Perugia may be visited in the following way: —

Starting from the Arco di Agosto and going in a northwesterly direction — the Corso Garibaldi leads to S. Agostino, S. Angelo, the Porta S. Angelo, and beyond the gate to S. Francesco-al-Monte. The Museum is in this quarter and may be reached by turning to the left out of the Corso Garibaldi, or more directly by the Via Appia.

Starting from the Duomo in a northeasterly direction along the Via Bontempi we pass near the chapel part of the old monastery of S. Severo, where the fresco of Raphael is preserved. At the bottom of the hill is the Church of Sta. Maria Nuova.

Leaving the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele or

the Piazza del Sopramuro and going in a southeasterly direction along the Corso Cavour in the direction of the Porta S. Pietro we pass the churches of S. Ercolano, S. Domenico, S. Pietro dei Cassinesi, and beyond the gate the interesting Church of S. Costanzo.

Turning out of the Corso Vannucci (the main street) by an archway under the Palazzo Pubblico and going down the Via dei Priori to the west side of the town we reach the Oratory of S. Bernardino and the Church of S. Francesco del Prato.

CHAPTER III

THE ETRUSCAN PEOPLE AND THEIR ART

THE cities of Tuscany and Umbria have many records in their streets and museums of an ancient civilization dating far back to a remote period before the existence of the Romans, before the Greeks had risen from semi-barbarism, before the kings of Israel had established their kingdom. This civilization was that of the Etruscans, or the *Rasenæ*, as they called themselves, a powerful, active, and able race of people who settled in Central Italy probably in the ninth or tenth century B. C. Their origin is unknown, but the fact that many of their habits and customs are similar to those of Oriental nations gives some colour to the tradition that they came from the East. They were doubtless a mixed race, and at an early period they showed in their

arts a strongly sympathetic disposition towards Hellenic culture.

From whatever part of Europe they may have sprung, the point of importance for the traveller is the fact that this race left the stamp of its powerful individuality upon the country, so that throughout Italian history the Tuscans have been distinguished for their pre-eminent ability, both as thinkers and as artists. The tombs and the Etruscan collections in Umbria represent a long period of history. They are the products of a civilization extending over some eight or nine hundred years.

Etruscan chronology is said to date back to the beginning of the tenth century B. C., and the earliest remains, probably of the ninth century, show that at that time they were a semi-barbarous race, capable of producing only primitive utensils for the simplest wants. The country was fertile, the people were able and industrious, and coming in contact at an early period with the products of Hellenic civilization, they showed an extraordinary readiness in adapting themselves to its influence. This capacity of the Etrus-

cans of assimilating the higher culture of Greece is the most significant characteristic of the race.

In the seventh and sixth centuries B. C. the inhabitants of Etruria were the most powerful of all the tribes in the peninsula. In 450 B. C. they were masters of almost the whole of Central and Northern Italy; they had imposed their suzerainty upon Latium, and occupied Campania, while upon the Adriatic and Mediterranean Seas their fleet was the terror of other maritime nations.

The Etruscans were united, it is believed, in a confederacy of twelve cities, each of which was an independent state, with the right, not only of self-government, but of making war and peace on its own account. No list of the twelve cities has been preserved, but those which are generally considered to have been the most important are Tarquinii (now Corneto), Veii (eleven miles from Rome), Volsinii (now Bolsena), Clusium (now Chiusi), Volaterrae (Volterra), Vetulonia (on the coast near Telamone), Perugia (Perugia), Cortona, Arretium (Arezzo).

There were other towns, such as Fiesole,

Pisa, Caere (now Cervetri), and Volci (now Vulci), which were certainly at one time also independent states.

The middle of the fifth century B. C. marks the beginning of the decline in power of the Etruscan confederacy. The Samnites took Capua in 424 B. C. The Romans gained their first victory in 426, and, two years later, Fidenæ fell into their hands.

The Gauls invaded Northern Italy in the fourth century, and the power of the Etruscans received a severe blow from the capture of Veii in 396 B. C. by the Romans. In the course of the next hundred years, the central part of the kingdom fell under the Roman yoke, and the defeat at Sentinum in 295 B. C. marks the end of the Etruscan supremacy.

Under the influence of the Etruscans, Rome came in contact with the culture of Greece, for the Latin race, while it mastered Etruria, adopted the habits, the laws, and the arts of the conquered people. A greater glory was added to the Etruscans by their becoming the instructors of the still greater nation of the Romans. The one fact above others which strikes us with regard to this people, is

that nothing of what they wrote has come down to us except inscriptions, and these inscriptions, although perfectly legible, are almost entirely unintelligible.

Our knowledge, therefore, about their religion, their government, and their arts is based upon no documents; there are no certain dates, and no names. On the other hand, the genius of the Etruscan artists lay in the direction of realistic portraiture, so that we have a large number of lifelike images of the people as they lived.

Besides this, there have been preserved in the tombs many of the homely things that they used in their daily lives, their weapons and ornaments, their pots and vases, so that we seem to have an intimate and somewhat familiar acquaintance with people about whom in all important matters we know nothing.

We know how they dressed their hair, what kind of tongs and pins they used, how they slept and how they ate; but we know little of their system of government, and almost nothing of their beliefs and aspirations.

In the judgment of antiquity the Etruscans

were considered the most religious people among the nations of the west, but we can learn nothing directly of the nature of that religion.

Judging from the sepulchral furniture, and from the ceremonies connected with the committing of the dead to their final resting-place, it would seem that at some stage of their development the Etruscans had been ancestor worshippers. Much importance was attached to the safe preservation of the ashes or of the bodies of the dead, for both burial and burning were used by the Etruscans. Food was placed in the tombs, and sacrifices were offered, and we are told that it was the custom at one time for relations to pass the night in the sepulchres, a custom commonly practised by those who believed that the powers of the dead might by such means be transmitted to the living.

Whatever may have been the nature of this primitive belief, it is clear that the Etruscan religion became strongly tinged with Hellenic elements, although always preserving certain distinctive and peculiar features. It is probable that the people continued to

follow the old burial customs, and the fashion of furnishing the tomb, long after changes in belief had been adopted which destroyed the significance of the early practices.

The doctrine of the veiled deities was purely Etruscan, foreign both to the Greeks and the Romans. The twelve hidden gods, "Dii involuti," were the supreme powers — mysterious, inscrutable, never to be seen, and never represented. Below them in the divine hierarchy were the gods who executed the will of the superiors in so far as it related to mortals. Of these, the three principal were Tinia, corresponding to Jupiter, Cupra to Juno, and Menevra to Minerva. Temples were raised in every city, it is said, to each of these three deities.

The doctrine of genii, which was adopted and developed by the Romans, is another feature of the Etruscan religion. A large number of attendant spirits, demons, fates, and furies watch over human beings, announce their approaching end, and go with the soul on its last journey. They appear continually in the paintings and sculptures

of the tombs, and form an interesting study in themselves.

Civil and ecclesiastical authority in Etruria was in the hands of an all-powerful hierarchy; the princes or military chiefs were themselves priests skilled in divination, and the science of the worship of the gods was the hereditary possession of the Lucumones, a race of priestly nobles. Great attention was paid to divination by sacrifice, by the flight of birds, and by lightning, and the Etruscan haruspices, or augurs, were called to Rome to interpret abnormal portents by the Romans who adopted many of the practices of divination, but never mastered the science.

The chief point of interest in the religion of the Etruscans is their belief in an after life.

The tombs are furnished with armour, weapons, ornaments, vessels for eating and drinking, as though the ghost continued to enjoy the material pleasures of this life. The bliss of the dead is pictured as the enjoyment of an eternal banquet, and the place of shades is a place of feasting and revelry. At the same time, death was not looked upon philosophically as the natural end or as the

kindly visitant. All men are cut off violently by the hand of fate, in the midst of life. A hideous demon, the Charun of the Etruscans, strikes down the living with his hammer, or a fury, as an ugly hag, touches the wrist of the victim and deprives him of life. Relations mourn and lament over the dead body, while the soul sets out on its uneasy journey to the underworld, alone, except for the fearful demon companions.

The Etruscans were able and skilful workmen, but they were not richly gifted as artists. They imitated the works imported from Greece, yet their development was not organic. Each locality passed through various phases, but not in chronological sequence. In some cases we find an archaic and more primitive style succeeding a freer and more developed manner of representation. Abrupt changes abound, and no unification of styles took place until the final period of Etruscan art in the third century B. c.

A certain industrial and commercial quality stamps the work of this people, and their sculptures, paintings, and jewelry are lacking in taste and refinement.

They had little power of idealization, and seem to have tried to represent things as they saw them, rather than to search for ideal types. On the other hand, they had a certain instinct for portraiture, and succeeded in impressing a vivid and lifelike quality upon their work.

Little remains now of the work done by Etruscan builders. Fragments of walls and portions of gateways are to be found in several Umbrian cities, notably in Perugia. The masonry consists of large irregular blocks laid in horizontal courses without cement. It is supposed that the temples must have closely resembled the Doric style. The pediments were loaded with sculpture, and fragments of the statues used for this purpose are to be found in several of the Etruscan collections. The sculptures appear as a rule to have illustrated the deeds of the particular deities who were worshipped in the sanctuary.

The Etruscans practised both incineration and burial, and the tombs in which the ashes or bodies of the dead were preserved were, generally speaking, of three kinds.



THE ETRUSCAN GATE

The earliest form of tomb was that of a well, the ashes being stored in a vessel at the bottom, and covered with a large stone. Sometimes this vessel was in the form of a little hut of clay or bronze; elsewhere it took the form of a vase with a symbolical bird upon the lid representing the spirit. In some districts the cinerary vase has a mask, taken from the face of the dead, attached to it, and at a later period this mask was replaced by a rough portrait head, which formed the lid. Most of the black ware called "Bucchero," and the primitive pottery with geometrical designs come from the well-tombs. The sepulchres of a later date which can be visited by the traveller in Umbria are roughly of two sorts.

Some are like the tombs of the necropolis of Orvieto, which are built of massive blocks of stone, and grouped together so that they resemble a street of low buildings. Each house consists of one or two chambers, within which the bodies of the dead were placed upon stone benches.

Other tombs, such as those in the neighbourhoods of Perugia, Orvieto, and Chiusi,

are more in the nature of caves hollowed from the rocks in the hillside.

These cave-tombs are, as a rule, cut out of the natural rock in imitation of buildings. The roofs are made to look as if the tomb were covered with slabs of stone, and other architectural decorations, such as cornices and doorways, are added to resemble masonry. The walls of such sepulchres are frequently covered with paintings, and the dead are either laid upon benches, or their ashes are stored in stone chests or sarcophagi.

CHAPTER IV

THE MUSEUM OF THE UNIVERSITY — ETRUSCAN RELICS

THE museum has a large Etruscan collection derived from the tombs of the neighbourhood, and a smaller mediæval collection, obtained chiefly from the suppressed convents and churches of the district.

At the top of the first flight of stairs, on the landing, are several sarcophagi and "cippi" belonging to Roman times. A large marble sarcophagus has on the end a fine relief of a griffin. This composite animal, with the head and wings of an eagle and the body of a lion, is a common figure in Etruscan sculpture. Griffins were placed upon urns and sarcophagi and at the doorways of tombs as guardians or as symbols of vigilance.

On this landing are also several stone monuments or "cippi," some with Roman in-

scriptions. They were used both by the Etruscans and Romans to mark the place of tombs and of boundaries.

On the end of the balustrade is a seated sphinx of Etruscan workmanship. This animal has the body of a lion with wings, and the head and bust of a woman. Its form was borrowed from Oriental art, and, like the griffin, it was placed as a guardian of the sepulchre. At the top of the stairs is a corridor, containing a collection of cinerary urns or chests found in or near Perugia.

The numbers referred to are marked in black figures upon the sides of the objects.

The bodies of the dead were burned, as a rule, in this district, and the ashes were placed in a chest and preserved in an underground tomb, surrounded by various articles provided for the spirits, such as domestic utensils, weapons, and ornaments.

The lid of the chest consists of a portrait figure of the dead person, lying upon a bed, or reclining at a banquet; and upon the chest itself are reliefs which may be divided into two classes:—scenes of the farewell of the dying, of funeral and sacrificial processions,

and of the journey of the soul to the underworld, and mythological scenes taken from the heroic traditions of Greece. This class includes at least three-fourths of the reliefs, all belonging to the third and second century B. C. The best examples in this museum are collected in Room III.

In the corridor, and immediately facing the stairs, there are several chests, in the shape of a temple, with no recumbent figures upon the lid. No. 123 has a relief of the head of Medusa. These images occur frequently upon the chests and in the tombs. It was supposed that they had power to protect the sepulchre against those who might seek to disturb it. According to the most popular version of the Greek legend, Medusa was one of the Gorgons, three sisters who lived on the edge of the land of darkness. She alone of the sisters was beautiful and mortal, but having by her presumption offended the goddess Athene, she was made more terrible than her sisters, and her hair was turned into serpents. Perseus, with the help of the goddess, dared to enter the place of eternal twilight, and carried off the head of Medusa as a

trophy. Athene fastened this head to her breastplate, and used it as an invincible weapon against her enemies, for the head had the miraculous power of turning those who looked on it to stone.

The association of Medusa with the place of night, and the use of her head as a talisman, and as a powerful weapon against all foes, accounts for the presence of these images in the tombs. In early times the heads of Medusa were hideous and frightful, but at a later date they came to be represented with a calm expression and beautiful features. Examples of the early and late type may be seen in this museum.

Turning the corner of the corridor, No. 157, against the right wall, should be noted for its spirited and vigorous design of a man riding upon a sea monster, representing the journey of the soul to the underworld.

No. 179 is a representation of the sacrifice of Iphigenia; other examples of the same subject will be found in Room III.

No. 279, on the left, a little farther on, has the figure of a young woman leaning upon her elbow in an easy and graceful position. Un-

derneath is her name, *THANIA CAFSINIA*
VOLUMNI.

Many of the urns have representations of marine deities, composite figures with human heads and tails like that of a whale. The human part may be either male or female, and they personify the terrors and dangers which await the traveller by sea. A trident, rudder, or oar is given to them as an attribute to signify dominion over the sea, and they are frequently shown fighting with mortals and destroying them. The wealth of the Etruscans depended greatly upon their maritime commerce, and it was natural that much importance should be attached to the worship and propitiation of marine deities.

Continuing along the corridor, and passing the door of entrance to the other rooms of the museum, to the right are two coffins with well-preserved skeletons, showing that although the burning of the dead was most commonly practised, it was not universal. The first skeleton, now enclosed in a wooden box, has a pair of large gold earrings lying beside it. The second has a number of articles for the toilet. The spirit of the dead dwelt in

the tomb, as a person in a house, and was provided with a mirror, a strigil for use after the bath, and various pots for ointments and other cosmetics. At the end of the corridor are a number of fragments of mediæval sculpture, which can be reached from the last of the inner rooms and will be described later. The visitor should walk back through the corridor to the entrance of Room I., used as an office.

In the centre of Room II. stands a Roman amphora, found in the sea at Sinigaglia, incrustated with lime deposits.

Case A, on the wall of entrance, has a collection of terra-cottas. On the second and third shelves from the top are a number of masks from human faces.

On the third shelf is a terra-cotta head of Medusa, of very fine workmanship. The face is of the frightful type, and has staring eyes, a protruding tongue, and serpents twisted in her hair.

On the next shelf is a collection of small glass bottles and pots, forming part of the furnishing of the tomb. A number of terra-cotta feet and hands were perhaps once

attached to wooden statues which have perished.

Cases B and C contain examples of the early black pottery called "Bucchero," made chiefly in Chiusi and the neighbourhood. The best collections of this ware, which dates from the seventh century B. C., and may be called the national pottery of Etruria, are to be found in the museums of Umbrian towns and in Florence. The designs are usually in relief, and the general forms show little perception of grace or beauty. In some cases the form of the vase is lost under the multiplication of figures in relief. The subjects chosen are rarely mythological, and consist chiefly of rows of animals, symbols of the various deities, with occasional instances of funeral processions and banquets. It is supposed that this ware belongs to a period when the strict and priestly character of the Etruscan religion did not permit any representation of the divine mysteries; and that it was only after long contact with the freer and more fanciful creed of the Greeks, that the people of Etruria began to depict the histories of their deities.

On the fourth shelf of Cases B and C are

several trays in this black ware, holding various small pots. They are commonly called "focolari," and they seem to have been used as toilet-stands generally, but in some cases they were placed above hot ashes, for the purpose of keeping the vessels inside them warm at the funeral feast.

Room III. contains the best preserved examples of cinerary chests. The figures upon the lids recline upon pillows as at a banquet. Sometimes the forms are only roughly blocked out, as though the artist had not cared or had not been paid to bestow attention upon any part except the head and the face. In spite of the rough unfinished workmanship there is an extraordinary look of vitality about many of these portraits.

The young, the middle-aged, and the elderly are presented just as they were in life, neither idealized nor ennobled, and in the full enjoyment of their pleasures. It is noticeable that there are no effigies of children, and this absence of all reference to the "little dead" suggests a comparison with the Christian sepulchres of the Catacombs, where the number of inscriptions to children immediately



OUTSIDE THE ETRUSCAN WALLS

attracts attention. Both the women and the men on the lids of the chests wear large and clumsy necklaces to which some amulet or charm was generally attached. Great attention was paid to the coiffure of both sexes, and the head-dresses were often elaborate. A general survey of the reliefs upon the chests shows that the subjects are chiefly taken from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and that with few exceptions they illustrate the tragedy of death. Scenes of massacre, murder, sacrifice, and combat are the most frequent; and if the actual moment of death is not chosen, a fury or some other messenger of the lower world is introduced to show that sooner or later the fatal destiny will be accomplished.

The men and women represented upon the lids, lying in comfortable and easy attitudes on their pillows, seem to have no obvious connection with the gloomy and tragic scenes below. Have they passed to another world where they are free from fate and no longer dogged by death? Is this supposed to be a picture of their state of bliss in another existence? If so, then the upper and lower parts of the chests present a striking contrast be-

tween the turmoil and dangers of the life of mortals, and the imperturbable calm of the existence of the shades.

Beginning with the chests ranged on the shelves along the wall of entrance, — on the upper shelf, No. 1 is in the form of a temple. Upon the pediment is the head of Medusa, and on the sides of the building is a scene from the heroic myths, relating to the catastrophe which nearly ended the life of Paris of Troy. The birth of Paris was accompanied by a portent which was considered ominous for the welfare of the city; so the infant was exposed by his parents, but was saved by shepherds and brought up in rural fashion. In course of time it happened that the servants of King Priam, the father of Paris, were sent into the country to capture a bull for the sacrifices. They carried off one from the herd belonging to Paris, and were followed by the hero into the city, where he strove with his brothers. One of the brothers drew his sword to slay the countryman, but Paris fled to the altar, and there Kassandra, his sister, the prophetess, endowed with knowledge of hidden things by Apollo, made him known to his relations.

This subject occurs again on Nos. 24 and 29. It is an exception to the usual themes, which either lead up to or describe some tragic end, but at the same time it is an illustration of the belief that the fate of a man is in the power of the gods.

No. 2 (also No. 18) depicts the sacrifice of Iphigenia. The maiden is carried in the arms of a warrior to the altar, where the priestess stands ready for the sacrifice. King Agamemnon, commander of the army in the expedition against Troy, impiously killed a beautiful stag sacred to Artemis, and then boasted of his skill as a hunter. Terrible misfortunes immediately followed. The Greek fleet was becalmed, and the soothsayers declared that Artemis could only be appeased when Agamemnon should sacrifice his daughter Iphigenia. Pleased with the submission of the father, however, the goddess substituted a white doe for the maiden. In some of the reliefs the figure of the animal is introduced at the feet of the priestess.

It is evident that the Etruscans believed that the unpardonable sin in mortals was presumption. Those who thought themselves,

or even wished to be like gods were immediately punished. Representations of the sacrifice of Iphigenia are only found upon the the tombs of women, and there may perhaps have been some allusion intended to the practice of human sacrifice, continued among the Etruscans long after it had been abandoned by the Greeks. Young maidens were offered upon the altar of Cupra or Juno, and in the collection of the Louvre there is a panel painting with a realistic presentment of such a sacrifice.

The portrait figure upon the lid of No. 3 holds a long-handled feather fan. On the chest the soul is represented by the figure of a young man about to start upon the journey to the underworld. He gives his sword and shield to his servant, who holds his horse in readiness. The figure of a man upon horseback, or of the horse alone, is often used to express the journey of the dead. Sometimes the servant in attendance has a sack, to show that the voyage is a long one.

No. 4, a picture of Pollux binding Amykos, King of Bithynia, to a tree, is another example of the punishment meted by the immortals

to presumptuous mortals. The band of Greek heroes who sailed in the ship *Argo*, for the purpose of finding the Golden Fleece, landed in a country where the king, Amykos, was a formidable boxer, and in a vainglorious spirit compelled those who landed to contend with him. His challenge was accepted by Pollux, who overcame and killed him. The two brothers, Castor and Pollux, were favourite subjects for representation upon vases, chests, and mirrors, possibly because they were the protectors of travellers by sea, and had power over wind and waves.

No. 5 is an incident from the siege of Troy. Achilles, the Greek hero, pursues Troilus, the son of Priam, who falls from his horse and is killed at the gate of Troy. The Greeks had attempted to take the city by storm without success, and this death of the young Trojan, who was overtaken by the swift-footed Achilles, was the first victorious incident. Nos. 10 and 16 are similar.

No. 6 shows a combat between men and a sea monster. No. 15, a somewhat similar subject, may represent Scylla destroying the companions of Ulysses. The snake-like tails

of the monster are wound round the bodies of her victims. On the end of the chest is the Etruscan Charun leaning on an oar, ready to accompany the dead to the lower world. The usual attribute given to Charun is a hammer or mallet, with which he deals the fatal blow. He is often introduced in scenes of slaughter and at death-bed farewells.

No. 8 is a beautiful polychrome head of Medusa, surrounded by green leaves. The hair might be described as wine-coloured.

In No. 9, traces of colour still remain upon the figure on the lid. In Etruscan paintings men are generally coloured a strong brownish red, and the women white. This chest has a bas-relief of a lion with its paws crossed. The same square broad outlines are characteristic of the animals as they are figured in Romanesque art.

No. 11, similar to Nos. 17 and 25, represents a combat between two warriors.

The relief numbered 12 represents a boar-hunt, a form of sport to which the Etruscans were much addicted. The special circumstance is no doubt the death of the Kalydonian boar. Meleager, Prince of Kalydon,



FOUNTAIN BY THE ETRUSCAN WALL

succeeded in killing a great boar which Artemis had sent as a punishment to devastate the country. The possession of the skin of the animal led to a quarrel between Meleager and his uncles, resulting in their death. Meleager's mother, who knew the will of the fates, and held the talisman of her son's life, brought about his death in revenge for the slaughter of her brothers.

No. 13 represents a lady at her toilet; beside her stand an attendant and a musician.

On the lid of No. 19 is the squat figure of a middle-aged man, whose profession may have been that of the priest or jurist, who appears on the chest below with a roll in his hand.

No. 23 represents a spirited scene of the siege of Thebes by the seven heroes of Argos. The two Theban brothers, Eteokles and Polyneikes, who were joint rulers of the kingdom, fell into dispute. Eteokles succeeded in driving out his brother, who gathered together an army, and six other heroes who agreed to help him to regain his lost kingdom. Prophets and soothsayers warned them in vain that they were acting impiously, for the

gods were opposed to an expedition led by one brother against another, and against his native city. The siege ended in a complete defeat of the Argive army, and all the leaders were slain. In the relief we see the soldiers trying to scale the walls, while the Thebans hurl down stones upon them. The figure of Capaneus is often introduced into the scene as he fell from the ladder, struck by a thunderbolt from Zeus in punishment of his impiety.

No. 25 is a combat between two warriors who may be the Theban brothers, Eteokles and Polyneikes. The unhappy brothers during the siege engaged in single combat, and both were slain. This double tragedy and mutual slaughter is a favourite subject among Etruscan sculptures, and the figures of fates and furies are often introduced standing beside each of the dying men.

Ranged along the floor are a number of small terra-cotta chests, many of them having identical reliefs cast from the same mould. The combat and death of heroes, or symbolical figures of griffins and sea monsters, the guardians and messengers of the underworld,

are the principal subjects illustrated. The figures upon the lids are lying upon couches wrapped in large cloaks. The heads are more or less individualized as portraits, and no doubt the lids were especially commissioned and fitted on to the ready-made chests. There is no suggestion in these figures of the Christian conception of the sleep of the dead, or of the uninhabited body; they are like living people in the enjoyment of comfortable repose.

In the centre of the room are two fine stone monuments or "cippi," covered with figures of dancing women in delicate relief, and of a primitive style. They should be compared with the large sarcophagus, and the round cippus of grey travertine in Room VI. The long and narrow proportions of the figures, the drawing of both hands and of both feet together in profile, are easily distinguishable features, and are characteristics of the archaic art of the Greeks.

Room IV. contains a collection of bronzes. The Etruscans were not rich in metals, and for a long period had nothing except bronze; but they became renowned throughout the

ancient world for their skilled workmanship in this material, and their lamps, candelabra, weapons, vessels, and statues were exported to many lands.

In the middle of the room is a large sacrificial vessel, and on either side are the fragments of two curule chairs.

In Case A, against the entrance wall, are helmets, spears, arrow-heads, and other weapons, which formed part of the sepulchral furniture of the tombs, the greatest amount of armour being found in the oldest sepulchres.

Upon the lower shelves are pins, bracelets, strigils, and domestic utensils, such as keys, ladles, strainers; also a number of makers' stamps for impressing their marks upon the terra-cotta moulds.

In Case B there is a bronze stand for the game of Cottabos. This game was in great favour with the Greeks as well as with the Etruscans; so much so that at one time rooms were built in Sicily especially for the pastime. There was variance in the manner of playing, but the principal object was to throw the contents of a wine cup, all at once and without

spilling any, against the metal plate or basin of the Cottabos so that it should produce a clear metallic sound. Originally the game was played as an augury of love. As the lover threw the wine he pronounced the name of his mistress, and she was judged to be favourable to him in proportion to the clearness of the sound produced.

In the same case are a number of forked instruments with long claws used in the sacrificial services.

On the lower shelves is a large collection of fibulæ, the Etruscan equivalent of the modern safety-pin, some of which are both fanciful and elegant. The fashion of dress at one period apparently involved the use of a large number of these pins, no fewer than twenty having been found in one sarcophagus.

Case D has a number of bronze lamps of peculiar shape, such as boats, animal heads, and a human foot in a boot. They were probably votive offerings, the shapes chosen having a symbolical significance.

In Case E there are a number of dice, which were found in the tombs of both men and women. The Etruscan ancestors of the Peru-

gians were as much addicted to games of chance as their mediæval descendants, who were so continually upbraided for this vice by the mendicant preachers.

Room V. is devoted to vases. This is not a large or noteworthy collection, but it contains interesting specimens of both early and late workmanship. The Etruscans did not succeed in the difficult task of vase painting as they did in modelling in terra-cotta. They followed the progressive changes of style in Greek pottery, but they never attained to the same artistic excellence.

Examples of the earliest pottery, with geometrical patterns drawn in black upon the uncoloured clay, are to be seen upon the upper shelves of Case C. They have been discovered chiefly in the oldest tombs, and similar designs to these are to be found on the pottery of most semi-civilized races. (See the *Salle des Origines Comparées*, in the Louvre.)

Good examples of a later but still archaic style are in Cases B and C.

The designs are in black upon a red ground, and the figures of both men and animals are

hard, rigid, and generally of exaggerated proportions. The muscles of the figures and the folds of the drapery are marked by white incised lines. A good example of this style is No. 17, in Case B, third shelf from the top, which shows the unusually tall and slender figure of a man standing beside his horse. No. 9, in Case C, second shelf from the top, has a similar design.

There are several examples of the still later and more perfect style, having red designs upon black. The background is painted black, the figures being left the natural reddish-yellow of the clay, and details are marked with black or brown lines. In the centre of the room is a beautiful vase, No. 21, with finely proportioned figures, and probably of Greek workmanship.

Room VI. contains some of the most important monuments of the collection. Opposite to the entrance door is a realistic and striking group of statuary, about life size. A man of more than middle age lies upon a couch, holding a patera; and at his feet sits his fate, a little old woman with wings upon her shoulders. With her large hooked nose,

pointed chin, and wrinkled brow, she resembles the usual personifications of Charun. Her expression is not malevolent as she lays her hand upon the man's wrist and deprives him of life. The victim's expression of imperturbable well-being would lead one to suppose that he was either unconscious of the fatal touch or indifferent to its consequences, regarding the future without fear or anxiety. Both figures are hollow, and the heads are removable.

On a shelf between the windows are two finely finished terra-cotta chests. Upon one there is a Medusa head of the frightful type between two fantastic griffins.

On the lid of the other chest is a spirited group of a man and woman reclining upon a couch in animated and smiling converse.

To the right of the entrance, beside the window, is a large circular monument, surmounted by a cone-shaped pillar. The reliefs represent a deathbed scene and the procession of the mourners at the funeral. The style of the work is archaic and rigid. The great stone sarcophagus against the wall of

entrance should be compared with this monument, as the workmanship also speaks a period rude and primitive in its artistic development.

According to some authorities the scene represents a funeral procession with captives and animals led to sacrifice, and on the ends, are the mourners seated at the banquet. According to others the relief illustrates the return of conquerors from a foray, bringing the vanquished in chains, followed by their women, and animals laden with booty. Under the window is a case with some fine specimens of bronze mirrors.

There are no incised mirrors of a very early or archaic period, and the subjects chosen for illustration are almost entirely mythological, dealing chiefly with the successful exploits of heroes, and with their victorious adventures in love or war. A tracing of one of the finest mirrors hangs upon the wall, and represents Helen as a young girl leaning upon her father's knee; beside her are the brothers Castor and Pollux, who were successful in rescuing their sister from Theseus. The artist has apparently made a blunder in in-

scribing the name of Laomedon beside the father's head.

Another mirror shows Hercules victorious over Cerberus, and crowned with laurel by a goddess.

In this room is a stone, the *Tabulæ Perusinae*, with the longest known inscription in the Etruscan character. It was discovered in 1822 near Perugia, and so far has defied all attempts at interpretation. It has been tested by Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Erse, and Armenian, and described variously as an account of a feast, as a contract relating to boundaries, and as an ordinance for religious rites. This museum is rich in inscriptions, and many of them have been placed upon the walls of the corridor.

The inscriptions in the Etruscan character which have been deciphered are chiefly of a formal nature, such as ordinances relating to religious rites, or contracts for the ownership of land, and they add comparatively little to our knowledge of the civilization of this people.

In a small case on the wall of exit to the next room are some gold ornaments, the

most noticeable being an earring of unusual size and weight. It is said to be of the third or second century B. C., a period when taste in such matters had suffered a degradation, and more value was attached to size and costliness than to artistic merit.

Above the case are two bronze statuettes, probably votive offerings. The quaint long figure represents Hygeia, goddess of health, and the little figure at the side is the goddess of convalescence.

Room VII. has a miscellaneous collection of later Etruscan and Roman work, and a case of antiquities from Cyprus.

In Rooms VIII. and IX. are the Etruscan collections made by Count Guardabassi from various parts of Italy.

Amongst the contents of Case H against the wall of entrance is a beautiful mirror of bronze with the figure of Bacchus riding upon a panther, in high relief.

The slender young god sits with ease and grace upon the beast, which seems the very embodiment of the freedom of the forest. The artist has brought before us the spiritual form of the Vine born of the lightning and of

the dew. We have an image of the heat and light of the sun, of the coolness of fresh leaves, of exhilaration and of swift movement.

Case L has a fine collection of jewelry. The love of jewelry for adornment was a characteristic of the race, but it is to be doubted whether any of the works of high artistic quality were done by the Etruscans themselves. The rings, collars, bracelets, and other ornaments of fine workmanship, distinguished for delicacy and beauty, which are found in the sarcophagi of the Etruscans were probably Greek importations. The native work is characterized by the same absence of taste, carelessness of finish, and lack of proportion as is found in the works of sculpture and painting. In the shelf above the jewelry are some fragments of collars or bracelets with interlacing designs such as are familiar in Byzantine, Celtic, and Scandinavian work.

Case O has a number of pins of various kinds, some evidently for use in arranging the hair; also a collection of keys and rings, and a bronze balance of the type commonly used in Italy to-day.

The case in the centre of Room IX. con-

tains a number of bronze statuettes of more or less rude workmanship. These are believed to be votive offerings, and the undue length of the bodies and legs of the figures is the result of the desire to make the offering as large in size as possible at the smallest cost. The head is generally fairly well represented, but the body, arms, and legs consist simply of a thin strip of bronze, in some cases hardly rounded.

Case D has a collection of "Bucchero" ware which should be compared with the specimens in Room II. A large vase on the lowest shelf has the figure of a bird on the lid. Such vases as this have been found in well-tombs containing the ashes of the dead, and the figure of the bird is supposed to have been a symbol of the spirit.

CHAPTER V

THE MEDIÆVAL MUSEUM

THE collection of mediæval antiquities contains no very important objects from an artistic point of view, but it has several relics connected closely with the religious and civil history of Perugia.

The first room (No. X.), in the case opposite to the door, has several ivories, amongst others, a fine pastoral staff of the eleventh century formerly in the Church of S. Domenico. It is decorated with colour, and in the volute, which has been separated from the staff, is the Lamb of God triumphantly confronting the great dragon, which opens its jaws in a vain attempt to injure.

In the same case is the sheath of a dagger elaborately carved, and two or three caskets with the customary illustrations from the stories of romance.



THE TOWERING CITY

In the case opposite to the window are a number of processional crosses. No. 52, in brass, has the four symbols of the Evangelists at the corners representing the four quarters of the globe into which the gospel was carried.

No. 47 has a Crucifixion in the centre, with Mary and St. John on either side. The other spaces are filled with the figures of God the Father, at the top, and St. Peter with the keys below.

Beside the window is a cast of the reliquary made for the ring of the Virgin, preserved in the cathedral.

Room XI. contains a collection of carved wood from some of the churches of Perugia, which are so richly decorated with artistic work of this description.

There are two inlaid panels by Baccio d'Agnolo from designs by Perugino, which were submitted as samples for the confessional of S. Agostino. In this room also are a number of the banners belonging to the town and to the communes and lordships of the district.

The coffin of Bishop Baglioni is covered with a sumptuously embroidered pall.

Room XII. has a collection of mediæval weapons, spears, helmets, etc.

Against the wall is a group of Madonna and Child, by Agostino di Duccio, the artist of the façade of S. Bernardino.

In a box with a glass cover are the bones of Fortebraccio of Montone, which were brought here from the Church of S. Francesco. The portrait of this great military captain of mercenaries hangs on the right wall; on the opposite wall is the portrait of Niccolo Piccino, a follower of Fortebraccio, who became master of Perugia in 1442.

On a shelf close to the door of entrance to the next room is a ballot-box for the election of the officials of Perugia, with the coats of arms of the various arts or guilds on the sides. This box was the "borsa," into which the names of all those eligible for office were placed.

On the wall of Room XIII. are various majolica tiles, and a fine relief by Luca della Robbia. The Madonna and Child, surrounded by angels, are in white, with a blue background, and the circular frame is composed of yellow fruits and green leaves.

In the centre of the room is a glass stand containing two beautiful chalices in silver gilt, with precious enamels. The smaller one, with eight enamels on the base, is said to have belonged to Pope Benedict XI., who died in the Canonica, and was buried in S. Domenico.

The larger chalice, with chiselled reliefs and beautiful enamels of the fourteenth century, is by Cataluccio da Todi, who is also the maker of the paten, with an enamel representing the Crucifixion.

In the case against the wall are a number of iron tongs for stamping designs upon cakes, with a collection of casts of the various patterns.

In the middle of Room XIV. is a case with a collection of casts and medals of illustrious Perugians.

In another case are 150 seals. Amongst these is the seal of the town of Perugia of the fourteenth century, with the figure of S. Ercolano, his feet resting upon a griffin. Another seal of the town, dating from the fifteenth century, has the inscription: "Numen divinum guelfum salvet perusinum." A seal of Malatesta Baglioni is of the sixteenth century.

The numismatic collection contains consular, imperial, Byzantine, municipal, and mediæval moneys. There are a few examples of the rare Quadrant of Fermo, and a very rare piece of money of Corrado Trinci, lord of Foligno.

Passing out of the last room, we reach the end of the corridor, where are collected fragments of mediæval sculpture. On the left wall is a fine relief of the fifteenth century, the front of the sarcophagus of Ubaldo Bartolini, a famed legist and teacher of Perugia. The master, in hood and gown, sits at his desk, in a room filled with scholars. Those nearest to the master are seated at benches writing, the rest of the audience stands behind.

In this part of the corridor is a bronze model of the fountain, which will be found useful in identifying the subjects of the reliefs.

The church attached to the university has in it two monuments of interest. One is the sarcophagus in which Frate Egidio, the companion of St. Francis, was buried, the other is a ciborium removed from S. Prospero, a building no longer consecrated.

The sarcophagus is of the type used by the early Christian community in Rome. It is a striking work, though not of the best period. A youthful and beardless Christ sits in the centre, and on each side, in niches separated by small columns, are the figures of Madonna and nine disciples. In the spaces formed by the canopies of the niches are wreaths, and birds feeding on fruit. On the cover of the tomb there is, at the extreme left, a representation of Noah in the Ark receiving the olive branch from the dove, and two scenes from the story of Jonah: to the right he is cast out of the ship and swallowed by the whale, to the left he has been thrown by the whale on the celestial shore, where he rests in the enjoyment of Paradise. The ark floating on the water signifies the Church, in which man is saved, and the promise of salvation comes to Noah under the figure of the olive branch brought by the dove. The story of Jonah is a symbol of the resurrection, the goal of those who have received the promise.

On the lower part of the sarcophagus the Incarnation is proclaimed as the means by which the promise is made good. Christ is

seated on a throne; on His right stands Madonna, and in the other niches is a company of nine disciples, probably Apostles, from their bare feet and the scrolls they hold in their hands. The birds which feed on the branches above their heads are immortal souls sustained by the fruit of the vine of the Lord, while the wreaths are crowns of glory and of eternal life, the reward of those who are faithful to the end. The Christ is beardless, for in early times it was thought that youth was the proper attribute for the Son of God, who was not conceived of as suffering from the changes of time. The veiled and robed figure of Madonna has the charm of classical simplicity and grace; like the Apostles, she has a scroll. The nine disciples are of various types and ages; they are reserved and dignified Roman citizens, senators rather than fishermen. There is in these simple figures a fine sense of order, and a delicate feeling for balance suggestive of an ancient civilization and a tradition which has become classical.

The ciborium which stands near the sarcophagus is interesting as one of the few ex-

amples to be found in Umbria of the art destined to grow into the fully developed Romanesque style of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The work is attributed to the eighth century, but whether this date can be trusted or not there need be little doubt that it is an effort of native Italian workmen to profit by Byzantine examples. There is the curious stiffening of forms, the incompetent rendering of classical detail, and the picturesque but unnatural realization of living things which is so common in similar monuments in Northern Italy. On the arch facing the spectator the cross occupies the central place. In the triangular spaces at each side peacocks feed on grapes: these are immortal souls enjoying the fruits of the terrestrial paradise. A similar idea is worked out on the arch at the back, where doves are feeding on the vine tendrils.

The capitals from which the arches spring are carved with leaves in a tentative fashion. They look like the work of one who has seen good models, but has been unable to copy them effectively.

CHAPTER VI

TOMBS OF THE VOLUMNII

ABOUT three miles from Perugia, near to the station of Ponte S. Giovanni, and on the carriage road to Assisi, is an Etruscan necropolis with a considerable number of underground tombs, the largest of which has been kept open and made accessible to visitors.

No opportunity should be missed of visiting this sepulchre, which is of late date, about 150 B. C., and which differs in several remarkable features from the tombs of Orvieto and Chiusi. The dead were not buried, but the ashes of the bodies when burned were stored in urns or chests, and placed in these underground chambers. The chests are still to be seen in their original position, surrounded by various articles of sepulchral furniture. A

knowledge of the appearance of the tombs in the different districts will be found to add greatly to the interest of the contents of the museums. It is supposed that this sepulchre belonged to one family, as the urns are all inscribed with one name, that of Velimnas, or, in Romanized form, Volumnius.

The entrance to the tomb has been covered with a modern building that now serves as a storehouse for the urns taken from the other tombs of the necropolis, with which the land round about is honeycombed.

A steep stairway cut out of the tufa leads to the doorway, once closed with a slab of travertine. On the door jamb is an inscription in Etruscan characters, which has been translated, "Arnth Velimnas, son of Larth and Arznea, protector and caretaker of this sepulchre, presents the lamps for the funeral feasts."

The form of the tomb may be roughly described as that of a nave, with a choir and transepts and four side chapels.

The end chamber, corresponding to the choir, is the only part of the tomb where the contents have remained undisturbed. The

other rooms have been filled with chests found in the neighbourhood.

We enter first a long vestibule, twelve feet by twenty-four feet, with a high-pitched roof carved in the form of rafters. Above the entrance door is the figure of the sun, as a round globe, between two dolphins. Turning towards the choir, we see above the entrance a great head of Medusa, with bold, regular features, and wide, staring eyes. On either side are two smaller heads; the one to the left has been destroyed, the one to the right represents Apollo.

Symbols of the underworld, in the form of serpents made of terra-cotta, start out from the wall of entrance; and immediately inside the doorway, hanging from the roof, is a little earthenware statuette of a winged genius.

When we step into the small, low chamber representing the choir, we are at once in the presence of the Velimnas family. Four men and two women are reclining upon their couches, on the tops of the chests which contain their ashes. The stone, or terra-cotta, has been covered with fine white stucco, and carefully finished.



A STREET THREE THOUSAND YEARS OLD

The figures represent a handsome, vigorous, and able race of people, gathered together here, as they might have been in life, in pursuit of material pleasures. There is nothing to indicate that the next life was conceived of more spiritually than as a continuation of the enjoyments of this life; and although surrounded by sinister and gloomy images of death, these sculptured portraits look out into the darkness with serene calmness, and with undisturbed satisfaction in the pleasures of eating, drinking, and adorning themselves.

Aruns Volumnius, the head of the family, has the place of honour at the top of the room. His couch is elaborately ornamented, and the pillows, coverlets, and decorations upon the posts are carefully realized.

The noteworthy point, however, is that the chest is raised upon a pedestal, which is carved so that it resembles the façade of a tomb. There were originally four figures painted in the doorway, representing, perhaps, the shades of the dead, but the fresco has now almost disappeared. The entrance to this door is guarded by two seated statues

of furies, or *genii*, holding torches. Their features are somewhat heavy, but the general effect of these figures, which have none of the characteristics of the frightful demon, is solemn and dignified.

To the left of Aruns is the chest with the ashes of his daughter, to the right that of his son, and beside the latter there is a fine seated figure of a woman described as *Veilia Velimna Arnthial*. She sits upon a throne or chair of state, and one hand is raised to her shoulder apparently in the act of arranging her dress. Her face bears more of the stamp of an idealized portrait than is usual in Etruscan art, and is very beautiful.

These chests are judged to be of the second century B. C., and the fact that some of the inscriptions are in Latin, but that the greater number are in Etruscan characters, would point to a time when Etruria had been conquered by Rome, but not entirely Latinized.

The urns stored in the side chambers resemble many of those to be found in the museum. Some of the lids have recumbent figures, others are in the form of the roof of a house or temple.

The subjects pictured upon the chests represent the familiar scenes of the combats and tragic deaths of heroes, the punishment bestowed by the gods for the sin of presumption in mortals, and the mysterious journey of the soul to the underworld. There are, amongst others, the Sacrifice of Iphigenia, the Hunting of the Kalydonian Boar, the Death of Troilus at the Gate of Troy; also a number of single figures of marine deities, and of sea-monsters conveying the soul upon its way.

Under the shelter of the modern building, at the top of the stairs, there are a number of chests, some of which have reliefs of a less usual type. On the right of the stairs is a scene in which two men, armed with weapons, stand on either side of a post or tree. On another urn is a spirited design of a griffin attacking a man, a subject which is frequently to be found in Romanesque sculpture.

On the left is a human sacrifice, where the victim is held down upon the altar by the hair, and the priest stands ready with his weapon. The choice of such a subject as this, and the manner of representation, is an evidence of the predilection of the Etruscans for

realism in art carried even to the point of brutality. The figure of a man between two genii standing upon pedestals may represent a contest for the soul between good and evil attendant spirits, a subject often represented upon the chests at Chiusi.

Torre di Manno, or Tempio di S. Manno

About three miles from Perugia, in a south-westerly direction, is an Etruscan tomb, called the *Tempio di S. Manno*, which is of interest as an example of fine masonry, and as evidence that the Etruscans knew and used the arch in construction.

Leaving Perugia, we follow the road nearly to the station, and, turning off to the right, continue in the same direction as the railway towards the station of Magione.

A small farm has been built round about the vault, and above the tomb itself is a little chapel with a tower, which gives the popular name to the place.

Passing through the farmyard with its picturesque surroundings, we go down a flight of steps into a semi-circular vault, beautifully

built of travertine blocks and uncemented. It resembles the tomb known as the Deposito del Gran Duca at Chiusi.

On each side of the room are vaulted recesses, in one of which are blocks of stone supposed to have been altars. They are grooved at the upper edge as if to carry off the blood, and their presence has caused the vault to be regarded as a temple. According to Dennis, however, ancient sepulchres frequently included a shrine, where offerings were made to the spirits of the dead.

An inscription of unusual length in Etruscan characters is cut in clear large letters upon the side of the vault to the left of the entrance. From the open ground outside of the farm buildings is a view which will well repay those who make the excursion.

A magnificent panorama of the city of Perugia lies before us, from S. Pietro in the southeast, to S. Francesco-al-Monte and S. Angelo in the northwest.

CHAPTER VII

MONUMENTS IN THE TOWN

The Palazzo Pubblico

THE Palazzo Pubblico is not of one date throughout, but a fair degree of uniformity in style has been maintained in the different parts. The building is mainly of the fourteenth century, when the Guelph party and the wealthy townsmen known as "Ras-panti" were in power. It has none of the character of a fortified castle such as we see in the Palazzo Vecchio and the Bargello at Florence; it is designed for purposes of city government only. Its architecture is not interesting as such, nevertheless there is a general air of magnificence symbolical of the thriving commune, ruled by well-to-do citizens.

A building for public purposes was begun

at the end of the thirteenth century, the year 1281 being usually given as the date. In 1300 a number of houses occupying part of the site of the present palace were bought, so that a more honourable place might be built, and in connection with this purchase it is mentioned that quarrels had already arisen about S. Severo, a church which occupied part of the site. In 1333 the foundation of the central part of the present building was laid, and the fine doorway opening on to the Corso is attributed to 1340. The priors had been living in the palace of the Canonica, but in 1346 additions were made to the Palazzo Pubblico, and in 1353 they went to live in it. Dormitories for the priors were added in 1429, and the mass of buildings as we now see it was completed at the southern end, when the part including the Sala del Cambio was begun in 1452.

Entering by the main doorway from the Corso, and mounting the stair, we turn to the left and reach the Sala del Consiglio. Over the door, in the lunette, is a painting of Madonna and Child by Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. This hall is called the Sala del Malconsiglio, for

it was here that it was agreed to set free the prisoners of Hawkwood's English Company, who afterwards defeated the Perugians.

In the Sala d'Udienza there is a portrait of Julius III. (1550-1555) by Adone Doni of Assisi. There is also a list of the twenty-five persons killed on the 20th June, 1859, in the conflict with the papal soldiers.

In the reception room of the Syndic are modern pictures representing Biordo Michelotti (d. 1398), Braccio Fortebraccio (d. 1424), Piccinino (d. 1444), and other illustrious persons connected with Perugia.

On the same level as these rooms, but to the right of the main staircase, is the Hall of the Notaries. It is an immense room, of which the roof is supported by a series of cross arches. On the walls are coats of arms.

Returning to the main staircase and passing to the floor above, there is to the left the picture gallery, and to the right the library belonging to the town.

The principal doorway of the Palazzo Pubblico is a fine work covered with elaborate detail, and dating from about 1340. The general effect is extremely rich, the mould-



DOORWAY OF PALAZZO PUBBLICO

ings, jambs, and lintels are wrought with great care, and the result is picturesque in spite of over-elaboration and want of breadth and boldness in the design.

At the springing of the outer arch on each side are griffins resting on brackets. Below them, and supporting the pilasters at the sides of the door, are lions. Here we have the ensigns of the city and of the Guelph party.

The pilasters resting on the lions are sculptured with figures, to some of which inscriptions are attached. On the left at the top is a young woman dancing, inscribed "Allegricia." Below is a woman with two torches, one lighted — perhaps a figure of Vigilance. The lowest figure is "Humilitas," with a lamp in her hand and a lamb at her feet. On the right, the upper figure, a woman holding a sword, is inscribed as "Magna Veritas." In the middle, a woman with a palm branch and an animal beside her, may be a figure of Peace. The lowest figure has two serpents twined about her.

In the tympanum are three statues. Two are bishops, and the other is a youthful figure in a dress resembling that of the deacon S.

Lorenzo on the fountain in the piazza. Both the bishops are middle-aged, or elderly, and neither of them could therefore (as is sometimes supposed) represent S. Louis the Bishop, who died as a young man. The three figures are probably those of SS. Lorenzo, Costanzo, and Ercolano.

The moulding which encircles the tympanum is enriched with coats of arms and ensigns of Perugia and her allies. There is the griffin of the city, the lily of Florence, the lilies of the French house of Naples, the papal keys, also shields with the legend S. P. Q. R., reminding us that at this time Rienzi established the Holy Roman Republic. On the 7th June, 1347, he sent letters to Perugia and other Italian towns inviting them to send deputies to a national parliament in Rome on the 1st August. On that day Rienzi published a decree declaring the city of Rome to be the head of the world, and at night the deputies were entertained at a great banquet. Next day there was celebrated the festival of the unity of Italy, and flags were presented to the deputies of the towns. The banner of Constantine, with the

white eagle on a red ground, and with the words "Asia, Africa, Europa," was given to Perugia.

The jambs and lintels of the door are covered with small figures, among which will be found representations of Justice, Avarice, etc., but they are not named, and most of them are not of recognized types that permit of identification. In the centre of the lintel, however, it is possible to distinguish the Judgment of Solomon. The king is seated on his throne, commanding the soldier to divide the living child. To the left is the false mother, who approves the decision, and on the right is the true mother, begging that the child may be saved. This, from its position, is intended to be the central idea of the sculpture. According to a mediæval saying, "the world is best disposed when justice is most potent therein," and it was a common idea among the Italian communes to proclaim this truth on their public buildings. In the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena, in the fresco representing "Good Government," Justice guided by Wisdom is the controlling force in the state; and in the Ducal Palace at Venice, one of the great

corner-stones has this same subject of the Judgment of Solomon sculptured upon it.

The fountain of Perugia was built in the piazza to distribute the water which was brought into the town from Monte Pacciano in 1280. It is a monument purely secular in its purpose; it is important as being a fine example of Italian sculpture when that art was in its most critical stage of development; it is interesting as a curious illustration of the ideals of life in a free Italian commune at a time when the people had thrown off external control, and had not yet fallen victims to passion and faction. It is, besides, valuable as a record of the customs, habits, and appearance of all ranks of society at the end of the thirteenth century.

The work was given to Fra Bevignate, a Benedictine, along with a Frate Alberto and a certain Boninsegna, a Venetian architect. It was begun in 1277, and water came into the piazza in 1280. Part of the sculptor's work may have been done later, however, judging from records of payments for work in 1281. The style of the sculpture is equally removed



THE FOUNTAIN

from Romanesque work and from Renaissance art. It has been recognized as belonging to the Pisan school. Niccolo Pisano (1206?-1280?), his son, Giovanni Pisano (1240?-1320), and Arnolfo del Cambio (1240-1315?), are the names generally associated with the sculpture. In time it stands midway between Niccolo's pulpit at Siena (1266) and Giovanni's at St. Andrea Pistoia (about 1300), and it resembles neither. There is a simplicity and reserve in the style and a directness in design which associate it neither with the classical tendencies of the father nor the Gothic tendencies of the son. If we conclude with some authorities that the design of the fountain was made by Niccolo and that the execution is that of the younger men, his pupils, Giovanni and Arnolfo, it may solve some of our difficulties. The work is untrammelled by any close adherence to classical models such as formed the study of Niccolo Pisano; it is equally free from the uncontrolled energy and the artificial straining after effect that we find in some of the sculpture of his son Giovanni. It is full of that new life which was to bear good fruit in the

fourteenth century, and it seems to anticipate the influence of Giotto (1276-1337), as we see it guiding the hand of Andrea Pisano (died after 1349) on the campanile at Florence. Indeed, the sculpture of the fountain has more in common with the masterpieces of the campanile than with the reliefs of the pulpits either at Siena or at Pistoia.

The statues round the upper basin have a certain unity of style bespeaking the influence of definite tradition, but at the same time there is a sufficient individual difference to suggest the work of several hands. The statues of Moses, David, Solomon, St. John the Baptist, and St. Benedict are wanting in distinction and refinement. On the other hand, the figures of Matteo da Corregio, Herman, Divinitas Excelsa, S. Lorenzo the Deacon, and Clericus Proditor Sancti Erculani, are rendered in a style at once broad, simple, and direct, and with a cogency that it would be difficult to exceed.

Sancta Ecclesia, Roma Caput Mundi, and the Saint in Contemplation, probably represent the work of the same or a closely allied hand, having its highest expression in

the Roma, and showing its weakness in the heads of SS. Peter and Paul.

Among the feminine personifications there is a tolerably distinct and uniform type to be noticed in the Victory, The Lady of the Corn Lands, The Lady of the Fish-bearing Lake, and The Girl bearing the Head of Holofernes or St. John the Baptist. Grace and simplicity characterize all these figures, but it is the grace of mediæval and not of classical tradition.

The fountain consists of two lower cisterns and an upper basin. In this latter part of the structure there is a group of four women with arms intertwined, supporting a griffin, the ensign of the city, and a lion, the emblem of the Guelph party.

The metal work is attributed to Rosso, a native Perugian.

The sculpture of the whole monument is designed with the purpose of setting before us, by means of symbols, of personifications, of historical personages and scenes, of Bible stories and fables, a complete philosophy of life and society.

The twenty-four statues on the upper cis-

tern relate to the constitution of society, the bas-reliefs on the lower cistern deal with the development of the individuals of which that society is composed.

To make the notes on these sculptures more easy to follow, a list is prefixed, both of the reliefs and the statues, in the order which they now occupy.

Panels on the Lower Cistern of the Fountain

1. The Fall.
2. The Expulsion.
3. Samson kills the lion.
4. Samson shorn of his locks.
5. Fable of the old lion.
6. Fable of the dog.
7. David preparing the sling.
8. Goliath lies dead.
9. Romulus.
10. Remus.
11. Romulus and Remus nourished by the wolf.
12. Mother of Romulus and Remus.
13. Fable of the wolf and the crane.
14. Fable of the wolf and the lamb.

15. January. Man warming himself at the fire.

16. Woman with domestic utensils.

17. February. Man fishing.

18. Man carrying fish in a basket.

19. March. Man taking thorns out of his feet.

20. Man pruning vines.

21. April. Young man with a branch and a flower in his hand.

22. A young woman, with her hair dressed in coils, holding a basket of flowers.

23. May. A young rider with a bunch of flowers.

24. Lady on horseback with a hawk on her wrist.

25. June. Man cutting corn.

26. Man binding sheaves.

27. July. Man threshing with a flail.

28. Winnowing grain.

29. August. Man gathers figs.

30. Young girl with a basket of fruit.

31. September. Man treading grapes.

32. Man carries grapes to be crushed.

33. October. Man pouring wine into a barrel.

34. Man making a barrel.
35. November. Man ploughing with oxen.
36. Young man sowing corn.
37. December. Man cutting the carcase of a pig.
38. Man carrying an animal on his shoulder.
39. The Lion, the symbol of the Guelph party.
40. The Griffin, the symbol of Perugia.
41. Grammar.
42. Dialectic.
43. Rhetoric.
44. Arithmetic.
45. Geometry.
46. Music.
47. Astronomy.
48. Philosophy.
49. Eagle.
50. Eagle.

Statues on the Upper Cistern

1. Heulixtus, the mythical founder of Perugia.

2. David, King of Israel.
3. Moses with the rod and the table of the law.
4. Matteo da Corregio, Podestà of Perugia in 1278.
5. Melchisedek.
6. The Archangel Michael.
7. King Solomon.
8. Herman of Sassoferrato, Captain of the People in Perugia in 1278.
9. Victoria Magna. Victory.
10. St. Peter.
11. Ecclesia Romana. The Church.
12. Roma Caput Mundi — Rome the head of the world.
13. Divinitas Excelsa — the divine idea represented in the priesthood.
14. St. Paul.
15. Clericus beati Laurentii. A saint in contemplation of blessedness in heaven.
16. Sanctus Laurentius bonum opus operatus est — S. Lorenzo, the doer of good deeds.
17. Domina Clusii ferens granum Perusie — The lady of the corn lands of Chiusi bearing grain for Perugia.

18. *Augusta Perusia est fertilis de omnibus his* — Perugia rich in all things.

19. *Domina lacu ferens pisces Perusie* — The lady of the lake bearing fish for Perugia.

20. *S. Ercolano*.

21. *Clericus proditor sancti Erculani* — The priest, betrayer of S. Ercolano.

22. *Sanctus Benedictus habens spiritum profetie* — St. Benedict, having the spirit of prophecy.

23. *Puella ferens* — Judith or Salome.

24. *St. John the Baptist*.

We now turn to the attempt to give some explanation of the intention of the sculpture.

Man was created in the image and likeness of God. After the Fall his supreme desire was to escape from the bondage of the finite and return to the infinite, to the source from which he was conscious of having sprung. The organization of the life of society and of the individual must be directed to this end.

It was believed that, as the whole constitution of the individual, physical, moral, and mental, was the gift of the Infinite, and partook in some degree of the nature of the

Giver, the way of right living must lie in the utmost possible development of all aptitudes, and society must be so constituted that the whole capacity of each of its individual members should be fully actualized. The supreme realization of the individual consists in the perception of truth — not the truth as it is concerned with relations of the phenomena of the visible world, but the truth as it is perceived in the general principles lying beyond, which form the animating and eternal element in the transitory conditions of nature. It was therefore by this process of speculation, by the search after general principles, that man was to reach his goal. The condition of society in which speculative energy could be best developed was in the quiet and tranquillity of peace. Hence, as Dante says, “there sounded to the shepherds from on high, not riches, not pleasures, not honours, nor length of life, nor health, nor strength, nor beauty — but peace.”

Speculation as the supreme function of man is dependent on a nature duly harmonized in its parts; there must be a sound

body, a rightly directed will, and a fully trained intellect, all at peace with one another and working for a common end — peace in the individual is just as necessary as it is in society.

The purpose of the sculpture on the lower cistern of the fountain is to show how the individual may attain the truly balanced life necessary for the speculative habit; and the upper cistern explains the constitution of society which most fully enables the individual to actualize his capacities. The summing-up of the idea of the whole is found in the figure of Philosophy, by which man reaches out to the divine and the infinite.

We begin with the panels on the lower cistern, on which are developed the life of the individual: —

In panels 1 and 2 the Temptation and Fall strike the note of the whole series. Discord has entered into the world. Man is no longer in harmony with the will of God, nor is his own nature in harmony with itself. The will does not perceive clearly what is the true good, the body asserts itself against

the will and the reason, while the reason suffers alike from an ill-governed body and a wrongly directed will. Vice and ignorance take the place of virtue and knowledge.

The designer of the panels sets himself to show how the will, the body, and the reason are to recover their proper functions.

Panels 3-14 deal with the moral and religious nature; they suggest how the will of man is to be brought into true harmony, so that it may desire the supreme good and impel the whole being towards it.

Panels 15-39 deal with the re-establishment of order and harmony, in the physical relations of man.

Panels 42-48 explain the conditions of intellectual harmony, and how the reason is perfected by the search after truth.

In panel 49, Philosophy is a synthesis of the whole conception.

Starting with the reliefs on the lower cistern at the northwestern side of the fountain, and opposite the shops under the loggia:—

1 represents the Temptation and Fall. Eve presents the apple to Adam, and im-

mediately behind her is the tree with the serpent twined round the stem. The design is extremely simple; the heads are disproportionately large, as often happens in works of the Pisan school.

2 is the Expulsion from Paradise. Adam and Eve have covered themselves with leaves. The hand of God in the left corner signifies the command that they shall leave the garden. The simple method by which the power of God is symbolized is striking.

3 and 4 depict the story of Samson. In No. 3 Samson appears in his strength, tearing open the lion's mouth. His hair floats on his shoulders, the symbol of his moral vigour. The expression of physical power is effectively rendered.

4. Samson lies with his head in the lap of Delilah. She has cut off his hair, and he has lost his physical strength as well as his moral vigour. The lines of the composition indicate the point admirably.

5 is the fable of the old lion, who, having lost his strength, is attacked by all those whom he has previously injured. The lion lies under a tree and the inscription runs —

"Si vis ut timeat leo." The moral attached is that those who have meted out injuries in the days of their strength, will themselves receive injury in the days of their weakness.

6 is the fable of the old dog, with the inscription "Verbera Catulum."

The story of David and Goliath is shown in 7 and 8. The power of the Spirit working in David, is contrasted with the weakness of Samson.

7. The youthful David prepares the sling. There is a notable contrast between the simple shepherd and the mail-clad warrior, suggestive of the true source of power.

8. Goliath, the giant, clothed in armour, is slain. This is a remarkable design; the effect of death is most competently gained, and the disposition of the figure is skilful.

The panels 9, 10, 11, 12 relate to the foundation of the city of Rome. The lesson we gather is that no man can stand alone, no man is self-sufficient. The individual can only be properly developed in a well-ordered social state, and Rome was the divinely appointed agent for temporal rule.

9 and 10 represent the twin mythical

founders of Rome, each seated and holding vultures in their hands, in reference to the augury drawn from the flight of these birds which decided the site and name of the city.

11 shows the miraculous preservation of the twins nourished by a wolf. The tree at the back of the animal is the *Ficus ru minalis* the sacred fig which caught the cradle of the future founders as it floated down the river. This is a most picturesque panel.

12. The mother of the twins holds an object which has been explained as a sieve, to indicate that she was a Vestal virgin and as a sign of chastity.

13 is the fable of the crane who draws a bone from the throat of a wolf. When the reward, which has been offered, is claimed, the wolf reminds the crane that escape from his jaws is reward enough. The application was that the rich, who live by the labour of the poor, are like the wolf. They receive many benefits from the poor, and return evil for good.

In 14 the wolf accuses the lamb of fouling the stream as an excuse for seizing and devouring her. The moral drawn is that

those who act with violence and cruelty add to their sin by calumniating those whom they have injured.

The use of parables, or "exempla," as they were called, was common in mediæval preaching, and especially so after the rise of the mendicant orders. In sermons addressed to the unlearned, fables and stories were used as illustrations to fix the attention of the audience. Collections of these "exempla" were made for the use of preachers, and in many well-known cases a recognized moral was attached. The drift of the "exempla" on the fountain is a warning against the vices of pride, oppression, and cruelty exercised by the strong against the weak, and by the rich against the poor.

From the Old Testament examples we see how Samson is lost through moral weakness, how David conquers in the power of the Spirit, and how Goliath falls a victim to pride.

The panels 15 to 38 deal with order in the material creation. They represent the labours and pleasures of man, as they correspond to the seasons of the year. Labour was alike a punishment and a blessing. On

these panels it is the means of maintaining life, of supplying the wants of the body, and of affording scope for the pleasures of social existence. The subtle harmony between the forces of nature and the life of man is suggested in the parallel course of the heavens, of the seasons, and the labours necessary to bring to fruition the powers of the earth. Twenty-four panels are occupied with the labours and pleasures associated with the course of the sun through the heavens and the consequent change of season. Each month has two panels assigned to it with some appropriate illustration of human energy. In one of these panels there is or has been the sign of the zodiac, to mark the relation between the sun, the season, and the labour.

After the fall, man became subject to the conditions of time and change — his life was a passage from the infirmities of childhood to those of old age. The earth likewise was cursed for his sake, and it was only by labour that nature could be made to yield her increase. The food which man won by the sweat of his brow tempered the infirmities

of the body, daily bread and daily work became equally necessary.

The material conditions of fallen human nature were thus necessarily expressed in terms of the changes wrought by time, and of the labour by which the earth is made to yield her fruits. The passing of time was evident on every hand, the new life of spring was followed by the growth of summer, the fruition of autumn, and the death of winter. The passage of the sun through the heavens summed up these ideas of change just as the life-giving power of his rays became the symbol for the idea of life. The sun in the heavens was the type of the Sun of Righteousness, and the course of the sun marked by the signs of the zodiac became a figure of the life of Christ upon earth. As the passage of the sun through the natural zodiac gave life to material things, so the passage of Christ through the spiritual zodiac gave moral and spiritual life to mankind.

The analogies between physical and spiritual conditions were widely developed. The rising up of the new life of spring from the death of the old life in winter was regarded

as a type of the resurrection; the passage of the seasons illustrated the ages of man. The sowing of seed, the harvesting of the crop, and the threshing of grain were imagined as the planting of the Word of God in the heart, the coming to judgment, and the dividing of the good from the evil.

There was an analogy between labour and the sacraments of the Church, for as labour, in conjunction with the sun, produced the food necessary for man's physical infirmities, so the sacraments, as the outward and visible signs of the life-giving power of the Sun of Righteousness, brought spiritual health and strength to the sinner. Labour does for the physical man what the sacraments do for the spiritual man. By labour the infirmities of the body are overcome, by the sacraments the infirmities of the soul are conquered.

The connection between the sun and the labour of man naturally led to the representation of work in connection with the course of the seasons. Labour was therefore expressed by the various occupations and interests throughout the months of the year,



ARCH OVER THE VIA APPIA

as they were regulated by the path of the sun through the heavens. Thus the labours of the months became an expression of divine beneficence by which man can overcome the physical effects of the fall. They may be described as the sacrament of labour.

It is in relation to such ideas as these that we find ploughing, sowing, reaping, and gathering into barns, taking their place in the popular expression of mediæval religion, in so far as they express the relation between the divine will and the physical infirmities of man's fallen nature. We find, therefore, such subjects as the labours of the months sculptured at Lucca, at Pisa, on S. Marco in Venice, and on many of the French cathedrals and other churches throughout Western Europe.

The panels of April and May generally differ from the rest, inasmuch as they illustrate the pleasures of life rather than the labours. It is usual to find them figured by young men or maidens riding gaily, and holding flowers in their hands, or with a wreath of flowers, and sometimes one of the joyous figures has a hawk on the wrist.

This is an expression of the sympathy between the fresh life of the season and the joys of youth, the earthly flowers they bear being the figure of the spiritual flowers forming the heavenly crown that rewards the life led in harmony with the order of creation.

December and January also stand apart from the series of labours. These months are nearly always illustrated by pleasures connected with eating and drinking, in fulfilment of such promises as that of Psalm cxxviii. 2, where it is said that those who fear the Lord shall eat the labour of their hands. The passage, Isaiah xxi. 5, "Prepare the table, watch in the watch-tower, eat, drink," was allegorized as referring to those who receive spiritual strength from the sacraments of the Church. It is probable that an idea such as this lay dimly behind the habit, that has connected some Christian anniversaries with festive pleasures.

The following is a descriptive list of the panels, 15 to 38, which we have been considering:—

15. Aquarius. The sign usually placed in the right hand corner has disappeared. A

man warmly clothed sits before a fire, with a drinking vessel and a plate of food.

16. Januarius. An old woman with a jug and some other vessel.

17. Pisces. The sign of the two fishes in the corner. A man fishing in the costume of a fisherman, as we see him to-day, on the Lake of Trasimeno.

18. Februarius. A man carrying a basket, perhaps selling fish.

19. Socius (so called, it is said, because this sign, Aries, accompanies the sun closely). A man takes the thorns from his feet — a figure significant of the season when one begins to walk barefoot.

20. Martius. A man prunes a vine which is trained upon a tree in the fashion still common in Italy.

21. Taurus. A young man holding a branch and flowers.

22. Aprilus. A young woman with a basket of flowers.

23 and 24. Gemini and Maius. These two panels form a pretty picture of a hawking party. A young man, crowned with flowers and holding a spray of roses, follows a lady

on horseback, with a hawk on her wrist. The horse on which the lady rides shows that the artist had much less knowledge of animal form than is usual in this work.

25. Socius (Cancer — so called for the same reason as Aries). A man cuts corn.

26. Junius. A man binds sheaves.

27. Leo (the sign has almost disappeared). A man threshing with a flail. The sculptor shows complete control over the human figure in action. The effect of motion and effort is gained with simplicity and certainty.

28. Julius. A man winnows. The grain falls in a shower from his tool.

29. Socius (Virgo). A bareheaded man, lightly clothed, gathers figs in a basket.

30. Augustus. A young girl sits under a tree with a basket of fruit. This is a graceful and natural figure. — The two panels 29 and 30 make a beautiful picture of rural life.

31. Libra. A man treads grapes in a vat; he has a staff in one hand.

32. September. A man brings grapes to the press on his shoulders. He wears a hood and a loose tunic. The pose of a figure carrying weight has been accurately observed, and

the sense of movement is competently rendered.

33. Scorpius. A man pours wine into a cask.

34. October. A man dressed in a long, loose tunic makes a cask. This is a noteworthy piece of naturalism.

35. Sagittarius. A man ploughing with two oxen. The difficulty of fitting the subject into the space has not been overcome. The treatment of the cattle is ineffective and trifling.

36. November. A man sowing; he carries the seed in his apron. This is a fine piece of sculpture. The gracious air of the youth and the sense of effortless movement are alike attractive.

37. Capricornus. A man cutting up the carcase of a pig.

38. December. A man carries an animal, probably a pig, upon his shoulders. He is greeted by his dog.

The panels 39 and 40 have respectively a lion and a griffin, the one the symbol of the Guelph party, the other that of the city of Perugia.

The last division of the panels on the lower basin (41-48) is concerned with the seven liberal arts and with philosophy.

The first three figures (41, 42, 43) are those of Grammar, Dialectic, and Rhetoric, making up the mediæval trivium by which man is taught the art of reasoning.

Grammar opens the gate of knowledge; her function is to preserve purity of language. By means of grammar change in the habit of speech is regulated and restrained, so that man does not lose touch with the experience of past times on account of the strangeness and diversity of tongue. Grammar also teaches the art of discussing rightly and with due regard to precision and aptness of expression.

Dialectic is the art of discussing truly; it teaches the rules of right reasoning, and it formed the most important element of mediæval education.

Rhetoric, the third of the three ways, teaches the art of discussing fitly, so that men may be persuaded according to the will of the speaker.

To these succeed the four figures represent-

ing the mediæval quadrivium — Arithmetic, Geometry, Music, and Astronomy. They are the arts of the physicist, and they deal with the phenomena of the visible world. The universe was conceived of as being disposed according to number, weight, and measure, hence the importance of mathematics, which includes the four arts.

The preliminaries of mathematical science are taught in arithmetic. By geometry man is led to perceive the continuous existence and the immutable essence which underlie phenomena. Music, having for its principle unison and proportion, teaches of the divine harmony, the bond common to all creation. Astronomy, in its higher development, leads the soul up to first principles and nearer to the creative power. These seven arts or sciences give to the mind a training which fits it for the highest function of all, that of speculating on general principles, by which man learns to make himself eternal.

The seven sciences are the handmaids of Philosophy, and Philosophy is the “loving use of wisdom, and that loving wisdom is most in God, for in Him is highest wisdom,

highest love, and highest power" (*Convito*, ii., xii. 94-98).

Philosophy is therefore the last term of the actualization of human capacity, and by it man approaches nearly to the infinite.

Considering the panels in detail, the three first (41, 42, and 43) constitute the trivium in the mediæval scheme of education.

41 is Grammar. The teacher lays her hand upon the child's shoulder. This is a pleasant panel and effective in its simplicity.

In 42, Dialectic wears a doctor's hood and robes, and holds a scorpion. The divided tail of this animal signified the terms of the syllogism.

43 is Rhetoric. The pupil stands in front with folded arms, as though reciting. The figure of the scholar is noteworthy.

The next four panels constitute the mediæval quadrivium.

44. Arithmetic. The scholar stands before the teacher counting. This is a charming relief.

45. Geometry is represented as a woman with a pair of compasses bending over a

desk. This is one of the most graceful and effective figures in the whole series.

46. Music plays on a row of bells with a hammer.

47. Astronomy. The teacher directs the pupil's head so as to look up at the stars.

48. Philosophy is crowned as a queen and seated on a throne. Her grand air is worthy of the position that Philosophy takes in the scheme of the fountain.

Surveying these sculptures as a whole we see that there are three main divisions dealing (1) with religion and morals, (2) with the material, and (3) with the intellectual needs of man. The religious and moral teaching is enforced in the subjects on the panels from the Temptation to the foundation of the social state of which Rome was the type. The relationship of man to the other forces of creation is exemplified in the Series of the Labours of the Months; and the reasoning faculty by which ignorance is overcome is dealt with in the Series of the Seven Liberal Arts and Philosophy.

Religion and morals overcoming vice by a rightly directed will, intellectual capacity

enlightening the darkness of ignorance, and the energy with which the forces of nature are developed, furnish the means of perfecting human nature. The evils that have overtaken the human race, and the sterility with which the earth has been cursed as the result of the fall, are healed by the sacrament of love, of learning, and of labour.

The panels 49 and 50 bring us back to the starting-point. The figures of the eagle (the ensign of Pisa) were probably placed here by the sculptors in honour of their own town.

Turning to the twenty-four statues round the upper cistern we find that no importance can be attached to their relative position. The fountain has been restored, and it is evident from the inscription round the base, which does not run properly, that the existing order is not the one originally intended.

The sculpture on the upper cistern deals with society as a whole, and as it has existed under the old and the new dispensations. Ancient society was based on the priest, the lawgiver, and the king, typified here by Melchisedek, Moses, David, and Solomon.

The link between the old and the new is found in St. John the Baptist. Through him we pass to society under the Christian dispensation resting on the Church and the empire — as the divinely appointed agents of the will of God. To the Church has been committed the spiritual, and to the empire the temporal destinies of society. These are represented by “*Ecclesia Romana*” and “*Roma.*” The spiritual forces which control society through the Church are set forth under the figures of SS. Peter and Paul, “*Clericus Excelsa,*” and St. Benedict, while the special needs of Perugia are under the protection of SS. Lorenzo and Ercolano.

The temporal wants of society are under the general direction of Rome as representing imperial power, but the detail of government is committed to the city of Perugia — her origin and her rule being explained in the figures of Heulixtus, the Podestà, and the Captain of the People.

We begin with the sculpture illustrating society under the old dispensation — the examples are over the relief of the Temptation and Fall on the lower cistern.

Nos. 2, 3, 5 and 7 represent typical guides of ancient civilization.

2. David, the king, is playing a harp. This figure and some others near it are much spoilt by the falling water.

3 depicts Moses, the lawgiver, with the tables of the law and the rod of authority. The type here is more commonplace than in the case of King David.

5. Melchisedek typifies the spiritual guide, the type of the priesthood. This figure is a restoration.

7. Solomon represents the wisdom of the temporal ruler, but the figure is undignified.

The bond between the ancient society and the modern is found in the statue of St. John the Baptist (24) — an unsatisfactory and weak piece of work.

We now turn to the constitution of modern society under the new dispensation. The mediæval idea of the Church and the Empire was in theory a very wide one. The emperor was not merely the temporal administrator, nor was the Pope merely the ecclesiastical ruler formally regulating dogma and discipline.



AN OLD STREET

The emperor was concerned with temporal felicity. This is to be gained by the realization of human capacity, which becomes possible through the teachings of philosophy. When man acts in accordance with these instructions, which he is enabled to do by the light of the moral and intellectual virtues, then he enjoys terrestrial happiness. It is for the emperor so to guide the world that this end may be reached.

The Pope is concerned with the felicity of eternal life. This is to be gained by the teachings of the Holy Spirit, which in the light of the theological virtues — faith, hope, and charity — makes clear to man the revelation set forth by the prophets, the sacred writers, and the Son of God.

It is the duty of the emperor and the Pope so to regulate the empire and the Church that man may pass from the joys of the earthly paradise to those of the celestial paradise. Having exercised all the duties of the active life, and enjoyed a foretaste of the eternal in the life of speculation, man at last reaches his goal, the vision of the infinite and community with God.

The following is a list of the sculptures which set forth the ideas we have been considering. The series begins with the government of the town of Perugia:—

1. Heulixtus, an Etruscan king, who was supposed to have founded the city. The sculpture is meagre and wanting in dignity.

Nos. 4 and 8 represent what we may call the judicial and executive heads of the city state.

4. Matteo da Corregio, Podestà of Perugia at the time the fountain was being built (1278). The figure, in a citizen's robe and cap, gains some distinction from its simplicity.

8. Herman of Sassoferrato, Captain of the People in 1278. He is dressed as a citizen; he wears a plain cap, and carries a short sword and gloves. This is the figure of a strong, capable man, suggestive of the citizen soldier rather than the knight errant. Its simple breadth of style gives dignity and character to the work.

9. Victoria Magna recalls the success in arms of the citizens of Perugia. This figure is imperfect; the symbols have been damaged,

10, 11, 12, 13, and 14 relate to the two great powers — the Church and the empire, both having their seat in Rome. The Church (11) is represented by a young woman bearing a church — “*Ecclesia Romana*.” The empire (12) is figured as a crowned queen seated on a throne, peaceful and victorious, holding a palm-branch — “*Roma Caput Mundi*.” The figure of the Church is one of the most beautiful on the fountain. That of “*Roma*,” though grievously damaged, is a marvel of strength and dignity. The Church is further represented by (10) St. Peter, (14) St. Paul, and (13) “*Divinitas Excelsa*.” There is a certain dignity in the figures of the two Apostles, but the sculpture of their heads is entirely unworthy. “*Divinitas Excelsa*” is one of the finest in the whole series; it would be hard to overrate its charming simplicity.

S. Lorenzo, the patron saint of Perugia, in whose name the Duomo is dedicated, appears in a twofold relation in 15 and 16.

In 15 is the heavenly citizen, but this figure is so unfortunately damaged that the entire effect is lost.

S. Lorenzo (16) has the inscription, "Sanctus Laurentius bonum opus operatus est." He wears the deacon's dress; he is the worker of good works in the Church militant. This sculpture is a model of strength, simplicity, and directness.

The three next figures are personifications of the city state and its dependencies.

17. Domina Clusii ferens granum Perusie — The lady of the corn lands between Chiana and the Lake of Trasimeno. This is a gracefully draped figure. The face is of the same type as "Victoria Magna" and other of the female personifications.

18. Augusta Perusia, fertile in all things. A beautiful matron holding a horn of plenty filled with fruits.

19. Domina lacu ferens pisces Perusie — The lady of Lake Trasimeno yielding fish for food. This figure is not so charming as the lady of the corn lands.

20. S. Ercolano, the bishop and defender of the city against King Totila. He is shown here as a well-proportioned and dignified figure, with a vigorous personality.

21. The unfortunate cleric through whom

the town was delivered into the hands of Totila. This figure has the same character of severe simplicity as those of "Divinatas Excelsa" and S. Lorenzo the Deacon.

22. St. Benedict gives the rule of the order to his disciple S. Maurus. The figure of an angel at the ear of the monk signifies the divine inspiration granted to St. Benedict. The drapery of the group is remarkably fine; the kneeling disciple is also a striking study; but St. Benedict himself is unrefined, and wanting in elevation of character.

23. A girl holding the head of a man, with the inscription, "Puella ferens." This girl has been supposed to be Salome, with the head of St. John the Baptist; or Judith, as the saviour of her people from the rule of discord, with the head of Holofernes. The figure is finely draped. The head she bears is of the same unworthy type as those of SS. Peter and Paul.

The statue (No. 6) of the Archangel Michael has not been mentioned. It is the work of a modern sculptor.

Most of the ideas which underlie the design of the fountain are to be found in two

treatises by Dante, *De Monarchia* and *Il Convito* — written some twenty or thirty years after it was made. Any dependence of one upon the other is entirely out of the question; the recurrence simply shows that both the designer of the fountain and Dante assumed the current speculation of the time.

CHAPTER VIII

THE HALL OF THE CAMBIO

THE hall of the Cambio and the chapel attached to it belong to the guild of the money-changers and bankers. The hall was used for the general purposes of the body, and specially for the trying of causes arising among its members; hence the name given to it — the Udienza. The chapel was used for celebrating the religious festivals which concerned the guild.

The guilds or colleges of the various trades and arts formed a most important item in the life of the Middle Ages. They were founded on ancient Roman custom, and they formed rallying-points for Latin civilization in its contest with the barbarian invaders of Italy. Citizens and traders could only defend themselves against the descendants of Lombard and Frankish landowners by combina-

tion, and this took the form of guilds or arts. These became political, and where they were rich, as in Florence, they were the virtual rulers of the commonwealth. The full rights of citizenship could only be exercised through membership in one of them, and it was common for nobles to register themselves as members of one or other of the arts so that they might gain political influence; indeed, so completely were ancient forms perverted, that in 1674 the colleges of the mercanzia (or merchants) and the Cambio only enrolled members of the noble class.

The "art" of the Cambio is mentioned in 1259, when its consuls took part as witnesses to a contract for the establishment of a new mint. The first existing statutes of the college are dated in 1377.

The guild of the money-changers was one of the most important in the town; its members were officially concerned in such public functions as the oversight of the building of the Duomo and in the victualling of the city.

In 1428 Pope Martin V. was asked to grant leave for the building of a new hall. His permission was necessary, as the proposed

site was occupied by the Church of S. Giovanni del Mercato. It was not, however, until 1441 that matters were arranged, and the building was not actually begun till 1452.

Perugino began painting in the hall in 1499, and he is supposed to have finished in 1500, though the receipt for payment was not given until 1507. The paintings in the chapel are generally assigned to the years 1515-1519.

The design of the frescoes in the Sala del Cambio has been attributed to the humanist, Francesco Maturanzio, who was invited to Perugia in 1497. He taught in the town, and acted as secretary to the Priors up to the time of his death in 1518. Among the books left by him to the city was one containing the inscriptions which appear on the walls, entitled, *In Audentia Cambia Perusiæ*; the same book included the "offices" of Cicero ornamented with fourteenth-century miniatures. The fourth of these pictures showed the four cardinal virtues which are the four fountains of "Honestum," and they were illustrated by men famous for the practice of each particular virtue. Prudence

is associated with Fabius Maximus; justice, with a Roman emperor and a French king; fortitude, with Hannibal and Mutius Scævola holding his hand in the flames; while temperance has Fabius Maximus and Plato.

In the hall of the Cambio the arrangement is not identical, but it follows the same train of thought. Another example of a similar kind is found in one of the rooms in the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena, where a like connection between the moral virtues and ancient heroes is illustrated.

The frescoes of the Sala del Cambio are interesting not only as being important works of Perugino and his scholars, but as embodying the ideas of the time on some of the most subtle and mysterious relations of humanity. They are not in any way peculiar in this respect, for art, from the time of the Catacombs, had been the medium of expression used by thinkers to make their conclusions popularly known. Such schemes of religious and philosophical thought were painted or carved not only in churches; they were common on secular monuments, as, for instance, on the fourteenth-century capi-



PERUGINO. — DETAIL OF CEILING IN HALL OF
THE CAMBIO

tals of the Ducal Palace at Venice and in the sixteenth-century frescoes painted by Raphael in the halls of the palace at the Vatican.

The hall is entered from the main street. It is badly lighted, so that a sunny forenoon should be chosen for a visit.

As we enter, two pictures face us¹ (1) The Nativity; (2) The Transfiguration. They strike the keynote of the whole design. The problem to be solved was how the finite and transitory nature of man can be transformed into the infinite and perfect — how humanity can become again united to God.

The answer given was that Christ, by sharing in mortality, enables man to share in divinity. This was the teaching of the mystery of the Nativity, in which the finite is included in the infinite. The mystery of the Transfiguration completes the idea; it suggests that as Christ in His human condition reassumed the divine, so man, in virtue of the mystery of the Incarnation, has the same goal.

The object of the paintings on the two

¹ See Plan I., p. 145.

side walls and the roof is to show how all the capacities of man and the history of humanity prepare the way for the manifestation of the infinite and for the ultimate perfection of the race. On the right wall God reveals His will directly to the chosen people through the prophets and sibyls. On the left wall there is an epitome of the ancient life of Greece and Rome, showing how pagan civilization became by the light of the cardinal virtues an instrument of the divine will. On the roof the figures of the seven gods and goddesses direct us to the perfection of the rational powers of the soul. If we regard the revelation from the Father Eternal to the chosen people as developing the love of God in mankind, and the moral virtues of pagan life as the source of man's love of his neighbour, we have these united with a cultivation of the intellectual faculties; so that in the full exercise of the whole range of the powers of the soul man may become fitted to receive the manifestation of the infinite, and be prepared once more to enter into communion with the divine.

We begin the examination of the pictures



PERUGINO. — DETAIL OF "PRUDENCE" FRESCO

on the side walls with those on the left hand: —

Prudence (3) has a beautiful four-sided mirror and a serpent twined round the handle. The inscription is: —

“Quid generi humano praestas, dea, dic age. Praesto
Ne facias quae mox facta dolere queas.
Scrutari verum doceo, causasque latentes,
Et per me poterit nil nisi rite geri.”

“‘Say, oh goddess! what hast thou to offer to the human race,

That thou shalt do naught for which thou oughtest to grieve
as soon as done?’

‘I teach how to search out the Truth and hidden Right,
And through me nothing can be done except fitly.’”

Below Prudence stand three figures: —

(5) Fabius Maximus, the general, who by his prudence foiled the Carthaginians, subsequent to their victory at Lake Trasimeno in the Second Punic War; (6) Socrates, the philosopher, who laid the foundation for the theory of civil and moral virtue, the father of Greek wisdom, the perfection of prudence in its widest aspect, and (7) Numa Pompilius, the legendary founder of the institutions of the Roman state.

Next to Prudence sits (4) Justice, with the attributes of the sword and scales. Her inscription is

" Si tribus his cunctos similes pia numina gignant,
Nil toto sceleris, nil sit in orbe mali.
Me culta, augentur populi belloque togaque :
Et sine me, fuerant quae modo magna ruunt."

" If the benignant gods were to bring forth all men like unto these,

In the whole world there would be naught of guilt nor of evil.
When I am observed nations wax great, both in war and in peace,

And without me that which has been mighty falls into ruin."

Below Justice stand the figures of:

(8) Furius Camillus, the conqueror of Veii, and five times Dictator. A school-master of Falerii having offered to betray the town to Camillus was sent back in chains, and his fellow-citizens, in admiration of the justice of the Roman, surrendered to him.

(9) Pittacus, ruled Mytilene for ten years, and when order was restored and established by his good government, he voluntarily resigned.

(10) Trajan, who heard the prayer of the widow. A falcon belonging to the son of the



PERUGINO. — DETAIL OF 'FORTITUDE' FRESKO

emperor killed a fowl belonging to the widow; her son strangled the falcon and was killed by the prince. At the prayer of the widow Trajan heard her cause, and ordained that the prince, his son, should die or become as a son to the widow.

The next virtue is Fortitude (11). She has a shield and mace. The inscription is

*"Cedere cuncta meis pulsa et disjecta lacertis
Magna satis fuerint tres documenta viri.
Nil ego pro patria timeo, charisque propinquis;
Quaeque alios terret, mors mihi grata venit."*

"Three men are mighty proofs enough, that all things yield, driven back, and cast down by my arms. I fear nothing for fatherland, nor for dear kindred, and Death that frightens others to me is welcome."

Under Fortitude stand:—

(13) L. Sicinius Dentatus, a Roman who is said to have fought 120 battles, and to have had the scars of forty-five wounds on the front of his body; (14) Leonidas, the King of Sparta, who defended the pass of Thermopylae against the Persians; (15) Horatius Cocles, the defender of Rome against the Etruscan army under Porsenna.

By his defence of the bridge across the Tiber, time was gained to destroy it, and so the city was saved.

The last of the virtues is Temperance (12). She mixes water with wine. The inscription is —

“Die, dea, quae tibi vis? Mores rego pectoris aestus
 Tempero; et his alios, cum volo, reddo pares.
 Me sequere, et qua te superes ratione docebo.
 Quid te quod valeas vincere majus erit?”

“‘Tell me, Goddess, what would you have?’ ‘I govern character. I temper the passions of the heart. And when I will I make others like unto these. Follow me and I will teach thee in what fashion thou canst overcome thyself. What can be greater than to have power thyself to conquer.’”

Under Temperance stand: —

(16) Publius Scipio, the conqueror of Spain and Carthage, who refused the office of Consul and Dictator for life which the people offered him; (17) Pericles, the Athenian statesman, who died without having had any personal gain from the state, and (18) Cincinnatus, who was taken from the plough, and appointed Dictator, and after his term of office laid it down of his own accord.

These philosophers and heroes of ancient Greece and Rome ranged under the moral virtues, make for us a magnificent synthesis of pagan life, justifying the saying of Dante that "it must be evident, when we recall the lives of these and other divine citizens, that they could not have wrought so many wonderful deeds had not some light of the divine goodness been added to their own goodness of nature."

The light of the divine goodness is, according to the design of these pictures, that of the moral virtues, and out of this grew the Roman Empire, founded not on force, but on divine reason. The great men of classical life were instruments wherein many a time the arm of God was seen to be present. This was made most clear when the earth was prepared for the birth of Christ by the universal peace which reigned in the world as the result of the power of the Roman emperor. Christ chose to be born at a time when the ship of human fellowship was speeding to the due port.

Thus the great men of pagan times, on whose goodness was founded the Roman

Empire, were preparing the world for the coming of Christ, though they lived only in the twilight of the moral virtues.

Turning now to the wall on the right-hand side of the hall, the lunette in the bay farthest from the door (19) has a representation of the Father Eternal, holding the globe of the universe in his hand, and attended by angels. Below, in the position corresponding to the heroes of Greece and Rome, are six law-givers, prophets, and kings of the Hebrews, and six sibyls — women who were supposed to have prophetic powers, and to have foreseen the coming of the Messiah. Beginning at the end farthest from the door they stand in the following order: —

- | | |
|----------------|-----------------------|
| (20) Isaiah. | (26) Erythrean Sibyl. |
| (21) Moses. | (27) Persican “ |
| (22) Daniel. | (28) Cumæan Sibyl. |
| (23) David. | (29) Libycan “ |
| (24) Jeremiah. | (30) Tiburtian “ |
| (25) Solomon. | (31) Delphican “ |

To these have been granted a direct inspiration and an insight more clear than



PERUGINO. — FIGURE OF CATO

that of the pagans into the divine purpose. As the empire of Rome prepared the way politically, so these prophets and seers made ready the souls of men to receive the message of the new dispensation.

Thus both the ancient civilization of Greece and Rome and the nation of the Jews were divinely appointed forerunners of the Messiah.

The connecting link between the classical heroes and the Hebrew prophets is found in Cato, whose figure is painted beside the entrance door (not shown in the plan). He is to be regarded as the greatest of pagans, the one who by the force of his moral nature approached most nearly to the light of the gospel dispensation. According to Dante, Cato, although enjoying only the light of the cardinal virtues (*Purg.*, i. 37) is the guardian of the island of Purgatory; he receives the souls of the blessed and sets them on their way towards the circles of the mountain where they are cleansed from sin. He forms an exception to the rule that only those who have lived by faith can pass beyond the courts where Dante finds the rest of the virtuous heathen.

The inscription at his feet is as follows:—

“ Quisquis vel celebri facturus verba corona
Surgis, vel populo reddere jura paras,
Privatos pone affectus : cui pectora versant
Aut amor aut odium, recta tenere nequit.”

“ Whosoever risest to utter words possessing the illustrious
crown,
Or goest about to render justice to the people,
Put away all private affections: For he whose heart is
swayed
Either by love or hate, may not stand for the right.”

The painting on the roof is decorative in character. Seven gods and goddesses appear among scrolls and ornamental designs of unusual delicacy and verve. They are attributed to Perugino's pupils working from the master's designs.

Over the pictures of the Nativity and the Transfiguration is Jupiter (41), Sagittarius and Pisces being on the wheels of his chariot. Over Fortitude and Temperance is Mars (40), with Aries and Cancer. Over Prudence and Justice is Mercury (37), with Gemini and Virgo. Over the prophets and sibyls is Saturn (41), with Capricorn and Aquarius. Over the judgment-bench is Venus (38),

with Taurus and Libra. Over the entrance is Luna (36), with Cancer. Over the centre is Apollo (39), with Leo. These symbols must be considered in their relation to the wall paintings.

The earth was thought to be in the centre of the universe and round it circled a number of heavens, each impelled in its course by one of the choirs of angels. The choirs each had their appointed duty in relation to the manifestation of some form of the divine will — and in this way the movement of each heaven took its part in the divine order of the universe. The heavens were associated with the sciences in the following way —

(36) the heaven of Luna was associated with Grammar.

(37) the heaven of Mercury was associated with Dialectic.

(38) the heaven of Venus was associated with Rhetoric.

(39) the heaven of Apollo (the Sun) was associated with Arithmetic.

(40) the heaven of Mars was associated with Music.

(41) the heaven of Jupiter was associated with Geometry.

(42) the heaven of Saturn was associated with Astronomy.

Thus these seven figures of gods and goddesses stand for the trivium and quadrivium; that is, for the seven sciences, which in mediæval schemes of education train the mind and fit it for the further study of physics, moral philosophy, and theology (see *Convito*, ii. chaps. xiv. and xv.). We should therefore regard the paintings on the roof as indicating the method by which the divine will, acting through the movement of the heavens, enlightens the human mind intellectually.

The bay nearest to the door on the right-hand side is occupied by the judgment-seat of the college (No. 35).

Over this bench is a gilded figure of Justice (34) with globe and sword, guarded by a Perugian griffin on each side (32, 33). The inscription is

“Caelos rego, inferis
Impero, judico inter
Mortales, ergo me colet.”

" I guide the heavens,
I command hell,
I judge among mortals,
Therefore worship me."

The intarsia work throughout the hall is of the same period as the painting and is worthy of study.

On the pilaster of the left wall, between the two bays, there is a portrait of Perugino, painted by himself (43). It is the face of a strong, self-willed man of determined character and of no great refinement. It leaves us wondering that such an one should have cared to paint the pasteboard heroes over his head.

The inscription in connection with the portrait runs

" Perdita si fuerat, pingendi
Hic rettulit artem :
Si nusquam inventa est
Hactenus, ipse dedit."

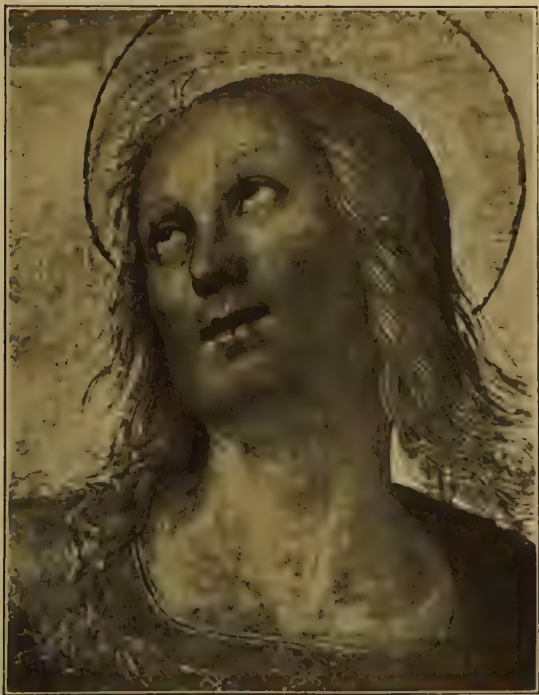
" If the art of painting had been lost, here it would have been found. If it had never been invented, he would have supplied it."

Reviewing the monument as a whole we have in the pictures of the Nativity and

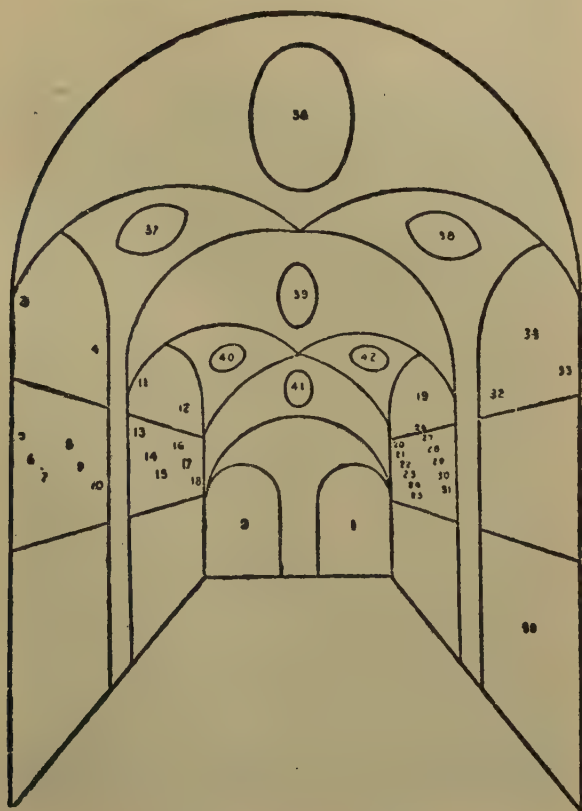
the Transfiguration the passage of the infinite into the finite and the reassumption of the infinite by that which had taken the form of the finite. By the first process it becomes possible for man to reach out towards the divine, and by the second is set before us the true aim of man, viz., to join in the community of the infinite.

The rest of the pictures are devoted to showing how man is to be fitted for his final end. The will is rightly directed by the practice of the moral virtues and by direct inspiration from the Father Eternal, and the whole capacities of man are duly governed by a reasoning faculty, cultivated under the divine influence which is manifested in the seven liberal arts.

The Nativity is a good example of Perugino's work; a quiet dignity and solemnity pervades the picture. The angels singing "Gloria in Excelsis Deo," the mother in placid adoration, the shepherds kneeling with unaffected devotion, the beasts of the field resting in their stable, and the gracious landscape are all typical of the mystical harmony accompanying the union of the



PERUGINO. — DETAIL OF THE TRANSFIGURATION



Plan I. — Sala del Cambio

human and the divine — that mystery which is the object of reverent joyfulness to the whole creation. The Transfiguration has failed to inspire the painter. There is neither grace in the design nor charm in the colour.

The figures of the virtues are indifferent examples of the women Perugino was accustomed to paint. The Greek and Roman heroes arranged under them can only be regarded as a travesty of humanism. They have not life enough to simulate human beings; they are not sufficiently informed by thought to constitute symbols in more than the name. The mincing and trifling air of these unrealities is equally removed from grace and from purpose. Cato himself (to the right of the entrance door) is hardly better than the rest; any possible point that there might have been is effectually destroyed by the petty toy he wears on his head.

The prophets and sibyls on the right wall are rather less grotesque than the heroes, but there is the same essential want of character, the same lack of artistic capacity,



MANNI. — LIBYCAN SIBYL



THE TRIBUNAL. HALL OF THE CAMBIO

with a like weakness both of intellect and feeling.

In spite of the comparative failure of some of the individual elements in the decoration of this little hall, it is a very fine example of what may be done to give character to a building. The intarsia of the panellings and the carving of the judicial bench combine with the colour on the walls and roof, so that the general effect is fine and worthy of the study of all who care for the grace and dignity of the surroundings of daily life.

Chapel of the Sala del Cambio

The chapel is entered from the Udienna. The paintings are attributed to Giannicola Manni (working 1493-1544), a pupil of Perugino, who is said to have painted under Andrea del Sarto (1486-1531). They are usually dated in the years between 1515 and 1519.

The altar-piece has in the centre a Baptism of Christ, and at the sides the Archangel Gabriel and Madonna in Annunciation. The paintings on the walls are concerned with the life of St. John the Baptist. To the left of the latter on the side wall is the Meeting of

Mary and Elizabeth, and on the side wall to the right is the Nativity of the Baptist. The history is continued on the left wall with the Feast of Herod, and on the right wall opposite, the Baptist is beheaded. The under sides of the arches which span these last pictures are decorated with a variety of small designs, including warriors in Roman armour, Christian virtues, episodes from the life of Christ and St. John the Baptist, David preparing to slay Goliath, and Judith and Holofernes. They are not of any importance as works of art, but they illustrate the catholicity of mind and taste resulting from the revival of classical learning. Another suggestion of this mingling of ideas may be found in the figures of the two sibyls — the Erythrean and the Libycan — painted over the arches.

The paintings on the roof illustrate the general conception, of which the paintings below are the particular application. On the walls and on the altar-piece we have the life of the Forerunner, the Annunciation of Messiah, and the Baptism which marks the beginning of the preaching of the gospel.

On the roof there is a generalization of the source of the gospel and the means by which it was preached and spread abroad throughout the whole world. In the centre of the roof is the Father Eternal, and immediately surrounding are the four writers of the Gospels, with St. Peter, the Apostle of the Jews, and St. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles. SS. Andrew and James complete this part of the design. The outer part of the picture contains the seven other Apostles, the four doctors of the Latin Church, and the three saints especially connected with the Christian faith in Perugia, viz., S. Lorenzo, S. Costanzo, and S. Ercolano.

Round the seats are the following inscriptions. To the left:—

"Ite procul, moneo sacer est locus, ite profani."

"Let the impious keep far off. I warn that the place is holy."

To the right:—

"Hic nisi casta loqui sancta que verba nefas."

"Here it is wrong to speak, unless with pure and holy words."

The pictures in this chapel are interesting, as showing the development of Umbrian art

among the followers of Perugino, otherwise they need not detain the visitor. There is a much finer example of the work of Gian-nicola Manni in the gallery.

CHAPTER IX

ART IN UMBRIA

ART in Umbria and in Tuscany had this much in common: it was a heritage from Etruscan ancestors. For the rest, the widely differing circumstances of the two provinces caused a marked divergence in development.

Through Tuscany lay the highway of the nations; its rich soil and many natural advantages led to the accumulation of wealth by a race keenly alive to every force that moved mankind. The high-lying valleys of Umbria, on the other hand, were, in the Middle Ages, cut off from contact with the great world by the mountain ranges surrounding them. There was no accumulation of wealth; no great seats of learning were founded; no politics other than those of their own towns closely affected them.

This life, apart from the movements and interests of the age, shielded as it was from the temptations of material wealth and beyond the reach of the intellectual development of the times, led to a certain exclusiveness and exaltation of temper depending on a keen sensibility to emotion combined with a narrow mental horizon. Religious feeling, rather than philosophical habit, is a note of the higher type of the Umbrian mind. The problems of life appealed to men in their mystical and spiritual relations, rather than from an intellectual standpoint, while material and political interests, although keenly contested, were on too small a scale to fill the lives of a people who were naturally devout. We need not be surprised when we find Umbrian art aiming, not to suggest a situation, but to create a state of feeling.

The great development of art in the valleys of the Apennines took place in the fifteenth century. There was, however, a much earlier tradition in such towns as Gubbio, Fabriano, San Severino, and Camerino.

In Gubbio a certain Oderigi, who is supposed to have died at the end of the thirteenth century, was of sufficient fame to be mentioned by Dante. There was also Guido Palmerucci, who lived on till nearly the middle of the fourteenth century, and is supposed to have painted in Gubbio, and to have been the master of Martini Nelli, the father of Ottaviano Nelli. To this latter master have been attributed frescoes in Gubbio and at Foligno. His period of activity lay within the first half of the fifteenth century.

In San Severino a certain Giacomo and Lorenzo painted at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, and another, Lorenzo the younger, supposed to have been the son of the elder Lorenzo, worked on until 1496.

At Fabriano there lived Allegretto Nuzzi, recorded in the Florentine register in the year 1346. He has been regarded as the master of Gentile da Fabriano. If there was any relation it must have been one of general influence, as the supposed date of Gentile's birth, between 1360 and 1370, is

about the same as the time at which the elder painter probably died. Gentile da Fabriano was the greatest artist produced by these mountain towns up to the middle of the fifteenth century. He, however, neither lived nor painted much in Umbria, and his influence is to be looked for in other parts of Italy.

From Camerino there came in the fifteenth century Giovanni Boccati. He is supposed to have worked on the traditions of Gubbio and San Severino, and also to have been under the influence of Piero della Francesca.

We now come to the names of three artists who painted in the second half of the fifteenth century, and who were the immediate forerunners of the great masters of the Perugian school. They were Benedetto Bonfigli (1425-1496), Niccolo da Foligno (1430-1502), and Fiorenzo di Lorenzo (1441-1521). Like most Umbrian painters they each had a style distinctly their own, tempered and influenced nevertheless by Florentine masters.

There were in Tuscan art two distinct tendencies which affected the Umbrian mas-

ters. One was represented by painters like Lorenzo Monaco and Fra Angelico, the other by Paolo Ucello, Piero della Francesca, and Antonio Pollaiuolo. Speaking generally, the first represented the religious and monastic mind, while the latter represented the scientific school, the men who developed the art of perspective and of design.

The influence of Fra Angelico passed into Umbria through his follower Benozzo Gozzoli (1420-1498), a man more apt to transmit the outward form and manner than the essential spirit of the great Florentine Dominican. Benozzo was employed at Montefalco in the year 1452, and it is supposed that he influenced all the three painters — Niccolo da Foligno, Benedetto Bonfigli, and Fiorenzo di Lorenzo.

The influence of the scientific Tuscan school is supposed to have reached Umbria through Piero della Francesca (1416?-1492), Antonio Pollaiuolo (1429-1498), and their pupil and scholar Luca Signorelli (1441-1523).

The great period of Umbrian art, which in the middle of the fifteenth century was

centred in Perugia, is connected with the names of Perugino (1446-1524) and Pinturicchio (1454-1513); both of them are said to have been pupils of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo (1441-1521), who united in himself the two strains of Florentine teaching already noticed.

The scholars, assistants, and imitators of Perugino include Eusebio di San Giorgio, Giannicola Manni, and Lo Spagna, who were painting during the last decade of the fifteenth century and throughout the first quarter of the sixteenth; Manni indeed was working until 1544.

Raphael when a youth worked in the shop of Perugino, and learned some of the school manner of his master; it had, however, no more than a passing influence. The history of the great painter belongs to Florence and not to Umbria, although by birth and in some degree by early education he is more nearly connected with the latter than the former school.

Of all the Umbrian masters with which we are concerned, Perugino is the most representative and the most widely known.

In spite of the many and various influences amongst which he lived, he always maintained an individual style, characteristic in many ways of local tradition, and having a wide influence amongst local artists. In charm of colour, in spaciousness of design, and in the beauty of his landscapes, he has few rivals among the fifteenth-century painters of any school. He has left some portraits which have greatly impressed competent critics (see Dr. Williamson's "Perugino," p. 85), and according to a contemporary, "his faces have an air of the most angelic sweetness" (quoted by Dr. Williamson, p. 40).

His good qualities had, however, serious drawbacks; his faces may have the air of angelic sweetness, and yet it is impossible to forget that they are often vapid, and that the sweetness degenerates into sentimentality. The fantastic and vacuous figures which do duty for the heroes of Greece and Rome in the Sala del Cambio, compare poorly with contemporaneous work such as that of Mantegna, and the imponderable symbols in the Baptism (No. 11, Sala X.)

at Perugia, contrast strangely with the virile forms of Signorelli at Orvieto.

Perugino was not a dramatist; indeed, there is in his work a static quality marking it off from the vigorous conceptions of Florentine masters. A picture of the Baptism of Christ at Foligno illustrates this Umbrian passivity. Let us compare it with the same subject as treated by Fra Angelico in one of the cells at San Marco in Florence. At Foligno, Christ and the Baptist stand in a conventional pose, and angels tread the air in a manner common to the school; above in a semicircle the Father Eternal holds a globe, and is in the act of blessing. There is over all a sentimental grace, a peacefulness and a devotional atmosphere not without its charm. Far different is the fresco at San Marco. Here is the solemn figure of Christ in awed reverence; here is the eager, nay fierce action of the ascetic preacher of repentance; instead of the golden fields and the feathery trees of the Umbrian, there is a wild scene in the desert. The subject has stirred the soul of Fra Angelico to its depths, while Perugino is moved to nothing

more than a decently reverential feeling and a well-restrained pleasure in an interesting event set in a charming landscape.

We must not, however, forget that there is in the art of Perugino a positive side, of value and interest for its characteristic relation to the condition of Umbrian life. Besides the capacity for rendering the ideal quality of wide and gracious landscape, in addition to a sense for the imaginative and poetical value of colour, Perugino at his best has the gift of expressing delicate and refined feeling with a certainty of perception that distinguishes him from the more vigorously intellectual Florentines, and from the worldliness of the Venetians. With all his defects and limitations he has added a great sum of beauty to the possession of mankind, and the traveller will often find his eyes wandering from the work of greater masters to the charming colour and the lovely landscapes which recall the shores of Lake Trasimeno and the sunlit valleys of the Apennines.

If we consider the history of Umbrian

art as a whole we shall see that there was no serious attempt to deal with the nude, nor was there any development of portraiture. No Umbrian painter devoted his art to schemes of philosophy and religion such as we find in the Spanish chapel at Florence, with the possible exception of Perugino in the Sala del Cambio. Life was never portrayed in terms of classical culture as the Paduan painters tried to do. There is hardly any of that somewhat vulgar feeling for realism which prompted Ghirlandajo to paint the story of St. John the Baptist as if the child were a member of the noble family of the Tornabuoni. Nor is the history of Umbria set forth in any series of pictures such as the Venetians delighted to paint, recording their victories and their lordship over many lands.

If such work as that of Perugino in the Sala del Cambio, or that of Pinturicchio in Rome or at Siena, is held to be an exception, it will still remain true that the aim of the school is to express a simple and pious devotion, a tender and religious feeling.

It must also be noted that there was no school of Umbrian sculpture. There are in the Umbrian cities several monuments, such as the fountain at Perugia, the façade of the Duomo at Orvieto, and the reliefs on San Bernardino at Perugia, which rank each in their own way among the great works of Italian sculptors. These Tuscan masterpieces stirred up no movement among native artists, and there was practically no Umbrian school of sculpture. With all its limitations Umbrian art remains to us as a valuable record of Umbrian life. It is less affected than the art of the great centres, by currents of feeling and modes of thought, which lost their note of individuality by the fact that they belonged to the world at large, and not to Tuscans or Venetians or Lombards only.

In the art of these secluded valleys we reach down to the true character of the people from which St. Francis sprang, and we can well forgive its limitations in return for the intimate picture of primitive character unaffected by the stir and worry of the great world.

The Picture Gallery

The gallery is mainly a collection of the work of Perugian painters of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, centring round Perugino (1446-1528) as the most accomplished member of the school.

The principal masters who preceded Perugino were Bonfigli (1425-1496) and Fiorenzo di Lorenzo (1440-1521). The principal disciples and successors of Perugino as we see them here were Lo Spagno (working before 1503, died about 1530), Eusebio di San Giorgio (working in 1492, still living in 1527), Sinibaldo Ibi (living in 1527), Gian-nicola Manni (died in Perugia in 1544), Domenico Alfani (born in 1483, and living in 1553), and his son, Orazio Alfani, who died in 1583.

In addition to the purely Perugian pictures there is a room with a number of examples by the Sienese painter, Taddeo Bartolo (1363-1422), who influenced Umbrian painting. There is also a small room with some fragments by Fra Angelico (1387-1455), and a painting by Piero della Francesca (1416-1492?).



PORTRAIT OF PERUGINO

Fra Angelico influenced the forms of Umbrian art through his pupil, Benozzo Gozzoli (1420-1498), while Piero della Francesca had a dominant influence through his own teaching and that of his disciples, such as Luca Signorelli (1442-1523).

We begin with the rooms which contain examples illustrative of the masters of other schools who influenced Umbrian painters.

On entering the gallery we pass through a large hall hung with pictures of no importance, and go on to the Sala dei Cimelii (Sala I.). It contains a number of panels, unimportant in themselves, but interesting as showing the state of art in the thirteenth century. Some of these early pictures are dated, and this enables us to estimate the relative position of painting and sculpture; for instance, the crucifix attributed to Margaritone was painted (if the date be accepted) within ten years of the time when the sculpture on the fountain was executed.

A few very small pictures (10 and 11) are attributed to Giunta Pisano, a name usually given to the painter who is supposed to have

begun the painting in San Francesco at Assisi.

Other pictures are attributed to early Sienese painters (note the panel No. 1), and a large crucifix already mentioned is attributed to Margaritone of Arezzo; the date painted on the panel is that of 1272. Above the usual inscription placed over the head of Christ is Madonna, painted with her hands spread out in prayer, and attended by two angels. In a circle above this figure of Madonna is Christ holding a book with part of the inscription visible: "Ego sum al . . ." At the foot of the cross is a small kneeling St. Francis. The figure of Christ is marked by the same strangely defined anatomy as we see in the early Tuscan examples in the long gallery of the Uffizi. Those who know the picture by Margaritone in the English National Gallery will find little resemblance to it in this work.

For the present we pass through the Cappella del Bonfigli and the Sala degli Stacchi to the Sala di Taddeo Bartoli (Sala IV.).

The principal pictures here belong to the

Sieneſe ſchool; a glance round the room gives an impression of abundant and rich decoration, rightly subdued to its purpose, of beautiful and harmonious colour, of graceful and refined form, and of a grave, reverend, and meditative attitude. Madonnas and ſaints look out from their gilt backgrounds as types of abstract qualities rather than as men and women: it is the preaching of repentance (ſee No. 9) that we are concerned with, not the man; it is the conſtancy of the martyrs (ſee No. 22), not the women who ſuffered; it is divine love, not Madonna the woman, who ſits with the babe on her knee; it is the life of ſelf-denial (ſee No. 5), not the mendicant who preached it, that ſtands before us. The Umbrian painters of the fifteenth century were influenced by theſe Sieneſe examples, and a ſtudy of the pictures in this room will help to unravel ſome of the problems which confront us in the rooms which follow.

No. 5, by Taddeo Bartolo (1363-1422). St. Francis in the centre; to the left, St. Antony of Padua and S. Ercolano; to the right, St. Louis of Toulouse and S. Costanzo.

St. Francis is surrounded by a glory of cherubim whose red wings are typical of divine love; he stands upon the forms of Pride, Lust, and Avarice — the last-named vice is figured by a nun clinging to a purse. St. Louis of Toulouse, as the eldest son of Charles the lame, was heir to the crown of Naples; the crown which he abjured lies at his feet. As a member of the house of France he wears over the habit of the brethren a robe embroidered with lilies. The painter, though proclaiming the conquest over the things of this life, has not been able to resist the temptation to set his theme in a most lovely scheme of colour and decoration.

No. 9, by Taddeo Bartolo. A crowned Madonna with a gorgeously robed Child is attended by St. John the Baptist and St. Mary Magdalene to the left, and St. John the Evangelist and St. Catherine to the right. We note the supreme skill of the Sienese school in decoration, and their love of magnificent yet strictly harmonious colour.

No. 10, by Taddeo Bartolo. The Descent of the Holy Spirit. This is an awkward

and ungraceful composition; the problems of perspective and foreshortening have been beyond the grasp of the painter in this example.

No. 14, attributed to Pietro da Orvieto, and originally in the sacristy of S. Severo, is not important. We may remark that St. Benedict is here robed in white as the patriarch of all Benedictines, reformed and otherwise, instead of in black, the habit of the original order.

No. 22 is a most lovely and graceful composition. In the centre Madonna and Child attended by angels rest on clouds; to the right St. Catherine of Alexandria receives the ring in token of her mystic union with Christ; to the left another virgin martyr, St. Agnes, bears the Lamb in her bosom; between these two saints kneels the small figure of Queen Elizabeth of Hungary, with her lap full of roses. To the right of the central picture stand the two bishops, SS. Ercolano and Costanzo, and to the left S. Antonio of Padua and St. Louis of Toulouse with St. John the Evangelist. Over these groups are two small scenes: to the left

St. Francis receives the stigmata, and to the right St. Jerome has a vision of the cross—two of the fathers of the desert being in the background. In the predella there is, to the right, the Baptism of Christ, to the left the three Maries visit the tomb, in the centre there is a scene probably from the martyrdom of St. Agnes, and St. Elizabeth receives the sick.

It is difficult to realize that this beautiful panel has for its idea the theme of self-abnegation and martyrdom as the way to reach the divine illumination granted to St. Catherine, to St. Jerome, and St. Francis. It is a summation of the monastic ideal, leading by the way of faith (typified by the white robe of St. Agnes), hope (shadowed in the green robe of St. Catherine), and love (figured in the glowing red of the cherubim) to that union with the divine, of which the mystical union of the Child with St. Catherine, is a symbol.

Sala V

The Sala del Angelico opens out of the Sala di Taddeo Bartolo, to the side. The

fragments by Angelico and the picture attributed to Piero della Francesca are not of much importance, but they are of interest on account of the influence which these masters had on the Umbrian school.

No. 21, by Piero della Francesca (1416-1492?), is a striking work. In the upper part of the picture is an Annunciation, with a background showing the master's love of effects in perspective; below, Madonna and Child are enthroned; to the left stand St. John the Baptist and probably S. Antonio of Padua; to the right St. Francis and Queen Elizabeth with her lap full of roses; the remains of the predella have figures of SS. Agatha and Chiara. The background of the picture has once been gilt, but the picture has suffered much, and there is now **no** charm of colour; it is, however, impossible to resist the solemn and reverential dignity of the composition and the masculine strength informing the whole, in striking contrast to the sentimental and feminine graces of the Umbrian masters.

The Umbrian Masters

We begin the study of the Umbrian pictures in the Sala del Bonfigli (Sala VI.) with No. 19, a large panel painted by Giovanni Boccati of Camerino (working in Perugia 1444-1447), who is reputed to have been the master of Bonfigli; it is dated 1447. Madonna and Child are enthroned in a beautiful garden that may well be that of Paradise; ranked around them are childish angels who sing with vigour; to the left raised on steps stand the two doctors, SS. Ambrose and Jerome, and to the right the two other doctors, St. Augustine and St. Gregory the Great — in the foreground SS. Dominic and Francis present members of the confraternity. It is a simple picture with a limited range of interest. Madonna is the least satisfactory part of it; she has neither character nor expression, and like Madonna in No. 16, also by Boccati, is merely a lay figure necessary to the composition. We may note a certain skill in using colour, — the blue robe of Madonna, the red robes of SS. Jerome and Augustine,

the black and grey habits of the mendicants, and the golden hair of the angels stand out with effect from the deep green of the celestial rose arbour, the masses of colour in the pavement adding character to the whole. There is as yet no spacious composition; the design is that of the enclosed garden.

We now return to the Cappella del Bonfigli to begin the examination of Boccati's pupil, Benedetto Bonfigli. In 1454 he was employed by the Priors to paint a part of their chapel. The work was to be judged, and the payment for it awarded, by one of the three artists, Fra Angelico, Domenico Veneziano, and Fra Filippo Lippi. The decision was given by the last-named in 1461; he was pleased with the frescoes, and advised that Bonfigli should be employed to paint the rest of the chapel, and that for the work 400 Florentine florins should be paid. This second part went on so slowly that when Bonfigli came to make his will in 1496, he set apart a certain sum for finishing it, in case he was unable to do so.

The pictures in the chapel begin with the acts of St. Louis of Toulouse, and go on with

the acts of S. Ercolano. St. Louis of Toulouse was the eldest son of Charles the lame, King of Naples, and grand-nephew of St. Louis IX., King of France. In his boyhood he was imprisoned as a hostage for his father, and when he was free he renounced his rights to the crown of Naples, and joined the brethren of St. Francis. He was soon after appointed Archbishop of Toulouse. The series of pictures begins with his consecration (No. 1). He stands before the Pope in his grey habit. His single-hearted devotion seems for a moment to have aroused some sense of human dignity and worth in the mind of Bonfigli. Next to the consecration there is (No. 2) the story of a merchant, who had lost a bag of money at sea, and finds it in the body of a fish, by the intervention of St. Louis. The fresco facing the window (No. 4) shows us the funeral service for the young archbishop. He lies on the bier, in the Franciscan habit, covered with a robe embossed with the lilies of France. A bishop and a number of brethren recite the service; their figures are short and undistinguished, their faces

are little more than caricatures of common types. The scene is set in a church shown in section, and with no attempt at pictorial effect. The only sign of inspiration in this series is in the young monk who awaits consecration, and it seems clear that Fra Filippo's judgment must have been guided rather by care for the feelings of a brother painter than by the canon of merit.

The rest of the series is concerned with S. Ercolano. In the sixth century Justinian was ruling in Constantinople as emperor of the Roman world. He had capable servants in the persons of Belisarius and Narses, and he determined to reassert the imperial power in Italy, where the Gothic kings had ruled for half a century. The siege of Perugia was one of the incidents in the struggle that followed. S. Ercolano, the bishop, defended the town in the imperial interest, and though Narses was finally successful, in this particular case it is the Goth who prevailed. Perugia was very short of food, and so that he might deceive the enemy, the bishop caused an ox to be fed with the last grain in the town, and then thrown over the

walls. Traitorously, or by misadventure, the plan was frustrated by a young clerk. The scene of fresco No. 5 is laid in the Piazza of S. Ercolano, where the ox lies dead. Before the king stands the clerk, and we see that the Goths have been undeceived, for they attack vigorously.

According to St. Gregory, the death of S. Ercolano happened in 552. The bishop who had encouraged and advised the people was flayed, decapitated, and thrown from the walls. Some devout persons found the body, and beside it that of a dead child, and they were buried together. Forty days afterwards the Perugians were ordered to return to their homes, so they took up the body of their pastor, which they found uncorrupt, and with no sign of flaying, while the body of the child was decayed. The head of the saint joined itself to the body, and the child, by the grace of God, when laid beside the body of the saint, came back to life and lived for seven years.

The interest of these frescoes by Bonfigli consists mainly in incidental illustration of the habits and dress of the time, and par-



BONFIGLI. — ANNUNCIATION

ticularly of the appearance of the town of Perugia in the fifteenth century.

We now return to the Sala del Bonfigli (Sala VI.), where we have already seen the panel by his master, Giovanni Boccati. The most famous picture by Bonfigli is No. 13, Madonna and Child, originally in the Church of S. Domenico. The panel has been much damaged, and yet it remains one of the most charming pictures in the gallery. Madonna sits in adoration of the Child, who rests upon her knee. She is a nicely nurtured, sweetly natured woman, without any evidence of spiritual vocation or force of character. The Child shows unmistakably the influence of Fra Angelico filtered through Benozzo Gozzoli, while the four little rose-crowned angels below, who play accompaniments to their own songs, are modelled directly on the types of Benozzo.

No. 7, Annunciation by Bonfigli, is remarkable for the introduction of St. Luke with his symbol between the angel and Madonna. He sits with a calm, detached air, apparently writing down the history of the event which he witnesses. The picture

comes from the College of the Notaries, and this may account for the careful record which is being made. We may remark the Archangel Gabriel's costume and its fashionable propriety, in contrast to the simplicity of earlier times.

10. Adoration of the Magi, by Bonfigli. This is a devotional, not a historical representation of the scene, which is regarded as the calling of the Gentiles. Madonna has to the right and left St. Nicholas of Bari and St. John the Baptist. In the luxurious and overcrowded accessories, we are reminded of the panel painted by Gentile da Fabriano (1360-70-1440). There is no true sense of design in the picture. The principal figures form a semicircle, with the adoration of the oldest king as the central point; but the effect is lost owing to an ill-managed crowd in the background. We may note the rudimentary landscape and the curious variety and elaboration of costume. St. Joseph and some of the bystanders show the same childish common type that we see in the frescoes of the chapel. Madonna is said to be a portrait of the painter's sister.

In the next room (VII.), the Sala di Bernardino di Mariotto, No. 4 is another characteristic example of Bonfigli. Madonna, with the Child on her knee, forms the centre. Above are four rose-crowned angels. Below, and to the right, stand St. Francis and S. Bernardino; to the left, St. Jerome and St. Thomas Aquinas. There is a marked likeness between Madonna in the picture and in No. 13, Room VI. The love of decoration comes out in the curtain and in the frieze which divides the celestial and terrestrial groups. St. Thomas Aquinas has in his hand an open book, with an inscription saying, that as Thomas has written well so he will be rewarded. This reward comes to him as illumination from the Sun of Righteousness.

The Gonfalone, No. 10, in this room, painted by Bonfigli, is noticed in connection with other pictures of this class in Perugia.

Nos. 6, 7, 8, 9, angels by Bonfigli. Nos. 7 and 9 come from S. Francesco del Prato; all of these panels have, no doubt, formed parts of a large composition. These angels bear the instruments of the Passion, and the

attempt to express the appropriate feeling is not successful.

Nos. 11, 13, 16, and 17, angels by Bonfigli, are among the most pleasing examples of his work. They are graceful figures bearing baskets of roses and with garlands, which however suggest head-dresses rather than flowers of the celestial paradise. The influence of Benozzo is clearly discernible.

We now turn to the work of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo (1440-1521), who may have been a pupil of Benozzo Gozzoli, but who was influenced by Florentine teaching, of which Botticelli is the most illustrious example. We pass from the feeble prettiness of Bonfigli to an art of stronger character. The men and women have force and articulation of frame; their obtuse and rather heavy faces are not, it is true, beautiful, but they bespeak character. The sense of colour is undeveloped, and it would be useless to pretend that the work of Fiorenzo, as we see it in this gallery, represents any high standard of genius. His pictures are nevertheless the work of a man of sound parts and of some capacity, and as the supposed master of

Perugino (1446-1524) he demands careful attention.

Sala VIII

No. 4 is an Adoration of the Magi, attributed to Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, and originally in the Church of Sta. Maria Nuova. The picture as we see it is dark and heavy in colour, and with no striking quality of design. It might pass unnoticed but for Madonna — a type that does not appear in any other example of the master.

No. 2, the Nativity, shows the Babe lying on the ground in fifteenth-century fashion. St. Joseph is made to take a prominent position, and is indeed the central figure; his robe is of a raw yellow colour, distinctly inharmonious, while his expression has a curious mixture of self-righteousness, and that form of humility which is apt to strike an onlooker as spiritual pride. The group of kneeling shepherds to the left is good. The angels who hail the event are charming, and recall Florentine tradition; they fill the space of the stable, which Perugino leaves open that we may see his lovely distances.

The landscape here, which is strangely constructed, adds neither grace nor beauty to the picture; upright rocks bear small tablelands on which shepherds tend their flocks.

No. 1 is a detached fresco from the Church of S. Giorgio, not now in existence. It represents the mystical marriage of St. Catherine of Alexandria, a graceful figure, reserved and dignified. She holds the palm of martyrdom and victory in one hand, the other being held out to receive the ring from the Child who stands on His mother's knee. On the other side of Madonna stands St. Nicholas of Bari with a bag of money — a symbol of his exceeding charity. He has a beneficent and fatherly expression of great dignity. The fresco is damaged, but it gives us a good impression of the capacity of Fiorenzo.

No. 43, a large panel, is by Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. Madonna and Child rest on clouds; seraphim and cherubim kneel at the feet of Madonna; to the left stand SS. Peter and Benedict; to the right St. John the Evangelist (with book and pen), and a Franciscan. St. Peter has the self-righteous expression

noticed in the Nativity (No. 2) to an odious degree. The best figure is that of the Franciscan, who looks out with an air of reverend simplicity. The colour is dull and heavy, and the figures stand against the gilding in a flat, unsuggestive way.

Sala IX

In the Gabinetto di Fiorenzo di Lorenzo the altar-piece, No. 10, merits notice for the gracious presence of Sta. Mustiola, who stands at the left of the picture. She is the patroness of Chiusi, and was martyred under Aurelian. Madonna and Child, with two graceful angels, are attended to the right by SS. Peter and Francis, and to the left by S. Andrea and Sta. Mustiola. The picture has a gilt background; the colour is harsh and strong in contrasts, the raw yellow of the Nativity (No. 2, Sala VIII.) reappearing here.

No. 16, Madonna and Child, by Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, suggests some of the school pictures painted by the followers of Botticelli; we may note the peculiar face of the Child, the expression of the angels and their ar-

rangement in the picture, also the bearing of Madonna. It is not a beautiful picture, but it is interesting as showing a contact with Florence, which unfortunately was to bear so little fruit among Umbrian masters.

There are in this room a number of sketches, some of them unfinished, attributed to Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. They describe miracles worked by S. Bernardino. We see the manners and customs of the time reported by an eye-witness. The drawings suggest the possession of that faculty which found its full expression in the work of Pinturicchio in the Piccolomini library at Siena.

Perugino (1446-1523) has by common consent been accepted as the most facile and popular painter of the Umbrian school. He was born at Città della Pieve, a small hill-set town near the railway that runs between Chiusi and Orvieto. He came to Perugia to learn the art of painting, and became the pupil of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. Besides his own ability as a painter Perugino owes his fame to the fact that in his shop Raphael worked as a youth. With the

possible exception of the frescoes in the Sala del Cambio, there is now none of Perugino's best work in Perugia; nevertheless, there are a number of fairly characteristic examples in the picture gallery, and of these the following should be noticed:—

Sala VIII., 24. Coronation of the Virgin.

Sala X., 11. Baptism of Christ.

“ 20. The Nativity.

“ 25. The Crucifixion.

Sala XI., 2. The Transfiguration.

“ 6. Madonna and Child.

“ 15. Madonna and Child with
Saints.

Sala XIII., 31. The Nativity.

The Coronation of the Virgin (No. 24, Sala VIII.) is part of the same altar-piece as the Crucifixion (No. 25, Sala X.). It was originally in S. Francesco-al-Monte. The picture is much damaged. Dr. Williamson, in his life of Perugino, regards it as being the work of the master only so far as the design goes. It is certainly not successful. There is an indeterminate rendering

of form and a weakness of sentiment, unredeemed by any charm of colour or breadth and simplicity in design.

No. 11, in Sala X., Baptism of Christ, is a better example. It was originally part of the altar-piece of S. Agostino, which Perugino contracted to paint in 1502, but did not finish for many years. We may note Umbrian limitation in the rendering of the nude, also the static condition of the design — nothing moves. Even the dove of the Holy Spirit, which usually sweeps down on the scene with something of power, is here set in a mechanically formed halo, able to do nothing more than spread its wings within its narrow bounds. The Baptist, though he may be in harmony with the rest of the picture, is scarcely the preacher of repentance, the forerunner and martyr. Such positive quality as he has expends itself in a vain attempt to feel what he thinks ought to be the feeling appropriate to the occasion. There is a painful air of vacuous self-consciousness about the whole picture.

No. 20, Sala X., Nativity, is also a part of the S. Agostino altar-piece. The Child lies



PERUGINO. — BAPTISM OF CHRIST

on the ground, shepherds kneel reverently in the background, two angels with delicately tinted robes appear in the sky, and between them the dove of the Holy Spirit hovers in a glory of bright rays. The stable is rendered by an open building, left without any detail so that we may see the simple but effective landscape. The picture is a harmony having no relation to any subject or to any fact; it is dependent on a subtle balance of colour on a flexile immobility of form, on a spaciousness of composition. Delicate in all its qualities, and with an air of grace and refinement, it attains within its own limitations a certain success — but the limitations are narrow and the conventions of the picture react upon the slighter and less permanent of human emotions.

No. 25, Sala X., the Crucifixion. This was part of the same altar-piece as No. 24, Sala VIII. The figure of Christ, modelled in wood, hangs on a wooden cross, and for this sculpture Perugino painted a background. Madonna and St. John stand at the sides of the cross, St. Mary Magdalene and St. Francis kneel in the foreground.

Two angels float in the air and catch the blood that drops from the hands. The physical manifestations at the time of the Crucifixion are indicated by a shining sun to the left and a darkened one to the right. Madonna wears an air of pensive and resigned melancholy. St. John displays a type of feminine weakness unusual even for Perugino. Penitence and humility are but poorly represented in the Magdalene and St. Francis. It cannot be said that the result justifies this combination of sculpture and painting.

In the hall of Pinturicchio (Sala XI.) there are two pictures which illustrate the capacity of Perugino as a colourist almost at his best and his worst. The ashy tones of No. 15 and the depth and glow of No. 6 are in strong contrast. This latter picture shows the members of the confraternity of St. Peter Martyr kneeling in the background, while two angels float in adoration over the crowned Madonna.

No. 2, Sala XI., the Transfiguration, is a large picture, striking alike for its good qualities and its defects. The effect of

suffused light, the lovely landscape, and the colour are fine, but the conception of the Christ is weak and poor, the witnesses of the mystery are uninteresting, and the detail of the mandorla, with its trifling cherub heads, causes us to marvel how such a thing could be imagined by any one with a sense of artistic fitness.

The last picture by Perugino which we have to notice is a detached fresco, No. 31, in the Sala della Scuola del Perugino (Sala XIII.). It comes from the Church of S. Francesco-al-Monte. This is supposed to have been one of his latest works. It is graceful and refined; there is a tender sense of devout adoration in the kneeling figures, interfered with by no obtrusive or indifferent detail. Madonna and the shepherd next to her are examples of the Umbrian school at its best. It shows that Perugino had not lost his power of creating beautiful pictures even in the latest years of a long life.

Before dealing with the followers of Perugino we must consider an example of the work of Pinturicchio (1454-1513), who may be regarded as an equal rather than as a

scholar or follower. Pinturicchio had an independent and individual standpoint, which he maintained to the end in spite of the influences surrounding him in Rome and Siena, where he spent a large part of his life. He is represented in the gallery by the altar-piece, No. 10 in Sala XI., complete in all its parts. The picture is pleasing in colour, and the Angel of the Annunciation is a beautiful figure, with a fine sense of arrested motion; otherwise the interest is mainly in the ideas which are set forth. The redemption of man is the theme. This is rendered possible by the Incarnation: and the history of this event is detailed in its beginning, in the Annunciation; in its manifestation, in the Child who sits on His mother's knee; in its completion, in the sacrifice foreshadowed by the cross which the child Baptist gives to the child Christ; and in its fruition, in the Resurrection from the tomb. Over the whole is the dove of the Holy Spirit. The note of the picture is struck in the inscription, which may be rendered: "Look, O mortal, by whose blood thou art redeemed. So act, that it may



PINTURICCHIO. — ALTAR PIECE.

not have flowed in vain." In the other parts of the picture we see how man is taught to act rightly. In small circles at the base of the picture are the four Evangelists, who record the gospel, so that all may know the good tidings. Beneath the figures of the Angel and Madonna in Annunciation stand two doctors, SS. Jerome and Augustine, the translator of Scripture and the greatest teacher of the Latin Church.

Humility and penitence are necessary conditions of the mind, if the teaching of Scripture and of the Fathers is to have its way. So in two small pictures at the bottom of the picture these states are impressed. St. Augustine receives a lesson of humility from the child who is trying to empty the sea into the hole he has made in the sand — the great bishop perceives that he may as well hope to fathom the mystery of the Trinity; while in another picture St. Jerome is seen in the wilderness beating his breast before a crucifix in an agony of remorse and penitence.

The easel pictures of the scholars of Perugino may be more conveniently studied

and compared in this gallery than elsewhere. The following are the most important examples: —

Eusebio di S. Giorgio —

23. Sala XI., Adoration of the Magi.

16. “ XII., Madonna and Child.

20. “ “ S. Antonio between SS.

Francesco and Bernardino.

Lo Spagna —

7. Sala XI., Madonna and Child with Saints.

8. Sala XI., Father Eternal with Angels.

Sinibaldo Ibi —

7. Sala XIII., Annunciation.

25. “ “ Madonna and Child.

30. “ “ Madonna and Child with

Saints.

Giannicola Manni —

3. Sala XII., The Kingdom of God.

Domenico Alfani —

27. Sala XII., Madonna and Child.

36. “ “ Holy Family.

37. “ “ Madonna and Child.

38. “ “ Pieta.

Another painter, Bernardino di Mariotto, who was working 1502-1521, ought to be

mentioned, though he can perhaps hardly be described as a pupil of Perugino. He was a native of San Severino, and is represented by —

1. Sala VII., Marriage of S. Catherine.
2. “ “ Madonna and Child.
20. “ “ Madonna and Child.

Beginning with the examples of Eusebio di San Giorgio, we find —

No. 23. Sala XI., Adoration of the Magi. It is dated 1505, and has been attributed to Raphael on account of a heraldic pattern on the legs of one of the bystanders, but there is nothing in the nature of the picture to warrant the supposition. We may note the pleasant group of angels who make music in the sky.

No. 16, Sala XIII., is another good example of Eusebio's style. It is a picture of Madonna and Child with St. John the Baptist and St. Benedict. The lighting of the picture is good, and the contrast between the red robe of St. John and the black robe of St. Benedict is fine. The tradition of Perugian landscape is already falling away into formalism.

No. 20, Sala XIII., Eusebio di San Giorgio. St. Antonio, the Abbot, sits between SS. Francis and Bernardino, with Madonna and Child in the clouds above. This is a very inferior picture.

Lo Spagna is finely represented by No. 7, Sala XI., a picture removed from the Church of S. Girolamo. Madonna with the Child sits on a high throne, to the left stand SS. John the Baptist and Francis, to the right SS. Jerome and Anthony of Padua. St. John the Baptist has a curiously unsuitable presentment — he appears as a rather over-refined man of the world. St. Francis, also, is no apostle of poverty. If, however, we forget all about such things and regard the pictures as a charming study of colour set in a beautiful landscape, it has undeniable quality, and it places the master as one of the most successful of the followers of Perugino.

No. 8, Sala XI., by Lo Spagna, represents the Father Eternal bearing the globe of the world and surrounded by insignificant angels. It is a poor picture, and serves to remind us of the inequality of this master's work.



LO SPAGNA. — MADONNA AND CHILD

No. 26, Sala XIII., a detached fresco from San Francesco-al-Monte, is attributed to Lo Spagna or Eusebio di S. Giorgio. It represents St. Francis receiving the stigmata. The wild desert of La Vernia becomes a smiling valley with a summer sea in the distance. Nevertheless the artist makes some attempt in the figure of St. Francis to grapple with the struggle of soul.

In Sala XIII., No. 7, an Annunciation; No. 25, Madonna and Child with S. Antonio of Padua and perhaps St. Leonard; and No. 30, Madonna and Child with SS. Joseph, John the Baptist, Fiorenzo, and Filippo Benizi, are described as authentic works of Sinibaldo Ibi, a painter whose name occurs in histories of art, but who is without importance.

Giannicola Manni is well represented by No. 3, Sala XII.; the subject is the Kingdom of God in heaven and on earth. Above is Christ in a mandorla of rays, attended by kneeling figures of Madonna and St. John the Baptist. Below, in a beautiful landscape, is set the communion of saints. St. Peter stands as the central figure; to the left are

St. Paul, St. John the Baptist, St. Nicholas, St. Jerome, and others; to the right St. Sebastian, St. Stephen, St. Mary Magdalene, St. Peter Martyr, Sta. Chiara, and another. The landscape is lovely, and the colour of the whole is harmonious and pleasant. The picture was painted in 1507, and was originally in S. Domenico.

The work of Domenico Alfani shows the influence of Raphael rather than that of Perugino, and also illustrates the incapacity of most of the followers of these two masters.

No. 27, Sala XIII., Madonna with angels about to place a crown upon her head. The Child stretches towards St. Peter, who stands on the left; St. Paul is on the right. St. Nicholas with three bags of money, and Sta. Lucia with two eyes on a dish, kneel in front.

No. 36, Sala XIII., Holy Family, Madonna and Child and John the Baptist with SS. Joachim and Joseph and St. Anne. This picture is said to have been designed by Raphael. The pomegranate is a symbol of the fruitfulness of the new life, which had appeared in the world.

No. 37, Sala XIII., by Domenico Alfani. Madonna crowned by angels with the Child, with SS. Gregory and Nicholas.

No. 38, Sala XIII., by Domenico Alfani. Pieta.

We now return to Sala VII. to examine the pictures of Bernardino di Mariotto. They are characterized by a disagreeably cold scheme of colour, the pose of the figures is stiff and ungraceful, and it would probably be difficult to find in the work of any master of reputation three Madonnas with a more wooden expression.

No. 1, Sala VII., represents the Marriage of St. Catherine; opposite to her stands St. Mary Magdalene. These two women offend less than any other part of the three pictures. Behind St. Catherine stands St. Peter, and behind the Magdalene, a bishop.

No. 2, Sala VII., Madonna and Child with SS. Benedict and Francis, is a picture that has nothing to recommend it; the figures of the two monks are little better than burlesques. They stand for the two great ideas lying behind monachism, the old order

of learned recluses, and the new and aggressive mendicancy.

No. 20, Sala VII., by Bernardino di Mariotto, Madonna and Child with SS. Andrew and Giuliano, is of the same general character. St. Andrew bears a fish as a symbol at once of his means of livelihood and of his mission.

The Banners

There is one kind of picture which ought to be mentioned as characteristic of the art of Central Italy and of the temper of the people. This is the banner used alike as a means of display and to express the overwrought feelings of a terror-stricken people.

Perugia was liable to terrible outbreaks of pestilence. In 1348 there was great mortality, and so deadly was the disease, that it is said neither priest nor frate would confess the sick. Between April and August 100,000 individuals are supposed to have died in Perugia and the surrounding territories, and crowds of people went in procession doing penance and fasting. On

the 2d of May in this year there was found under the high altar of the Church of S. Fiorenzo the body of that saint. On the 4th of May there was a great procession of priests, frati, and people; and they carried the body through the town, praying God that of His mercy He would be pleased to make the pestilence cease through the merits and the intercession of S. Fiorenzo. The banners such as we see to-day in the churches of Sta. Maria Nuova and S. Francesco del Prato in Perugia, help us to realize the horror of the unfortunate people. These pictures date from a century later, but pestilence continued to sweep over the town long after the great outbreak of 1348.

These two "plague" banners were painted by Bonfigli, and both of them have been much damaged.

Christ, of more than life size, is the central figure at Sta. Maria Nuova. In His right hand, He bears the arrow of pestilence ready to be thrown among the people. The face is that of a minister of fate, who has neither control over the judgments nor concern with their fulfilment. Its impersonal aloof-

ness could have brought small consolation to those who suffered.

At each side of this great figure saints bear the instruments of the Passion, and above are the sun and moon. At the feet of Christ kneel the Madonna and the Franciscan S. Paolina. The lower part of the picture is divided from the upper by an arch; under it crouch the people of Perugia, and over them hovers Death. At the sides of the groups of citizens kneel St. Benedict and Sta. Scholastica praying for their deliverance.

The banner at S. Francesco del Prato is more elaborate. Madonna Misericordia is the central figure; with her robe she covers groups of men on one side and women on the other. In the upper part of the picture Christ, with a cruciform nimbus, casts down arrows. At His right hand is the Angel of Justice, and at His left the Angel of Mercy. Gathered round Madonna and adding their intercession to hers, are S. Lorenzo and the bishops SS. Severo, Constanzo, and Ludovico. Beneath these, to the right, SS. Francis and Bernardino, and to the left St. Peter

Martyr and St. Sebastian. The special protectors of Perugia, the mendicant preacher and the mendicant brethren, all unite with the special plague saint, St. Sebastian, in the prayer of Madonna. In the lowest part of the picture stands Death; the ground is strewn with his victims, but the prayers have been heard, the Angel of Mercy has triumphed, and the Archangel Raphael strikes Death with his spear. According to legend the face of Madonna was painted by an angel and not by Bonfigli.

Another banner by Bonfigli is preserved in the picture gallery. It is No. 10 in the Sala di Bernardino di Mariotto; the date is 1465. In the lower part of the picture a number of persons put the candles, which they have been carrying in procession, into a basket. S. Bernardino looks on, and in the upper part of the picture the divine approval is signified by the presence of Christ, attended by the nine choirs of angels. This is probably intended to illustrate one of the results of the preaching of S. Bernardino in Perugia. The game of "stones" was an old-established custom in the town,

valued as a means of keeping up the hardihood and fighting quality of the people. The players were divided into two parties and fought, attacking each other with flights of stones and other weapons, so that men were left dead after the contest. S. Bernardino denounced this warfare, and persuaded the people to give their money to buy candles and torches to increase the magnificence of the festival of S. Ercolano, and otherwise to add to the devotion of the town. In this way there was given fifty florins which the companies of the "Sasso," the "Maggio," and the "Monte Luce" had for the games. On the 24th February, being the feast of S. Ercolano, the body of the saint was carried in procession, all the "religious" being, as was the custom, without candles or torches, while the priors, the chamberlains, the treasurers, the stewards, walked with the light of torches. When they reached S. Domenico, they left the candles and torches with Baglione de Fortera and two others, who were the appointed officers for the building and repair of the Duomo; and thus they commemorated the

saint with a more splendid procession instead of with games and dancing.

Another of these banner pictures is No. 14 of the Sala Bernardino di Mariotto in the picture gallery. It is attributed to Niccolo da Foligno or to Bartolommeo Caporali. The date is 1466, and if it is the work of the first-named master, it is not characteristic of his usual style; he generally puts a keener temper and more intensity of feeling into his work.

The subject of the banner is the Annunciation; Madonna kneels at her reading desk, the angel inclines reverently as the message is given. From above, the Father Eternal sends down the dove of the Holy Spirit in a shower of rays, and a company of angels make a joyful noise in celebration of the good tidings. On the lower part of the banner there is a group of kneeling people, including brethren of the Misericordia and magistrates. They are presented by members of the order of the Servi, which had its origin in the special devotion of seven Florentines to the service of the Blessed Virgin.

CHAPTER X

THE DUOMO

THE Duomo of S. Lorenzo as we see it, was founded in 1345, but little or no progress was made for many years. It was not until the middle of the fifteenth century that the work was set about in earnest. In 1437 the foundation of the façade was laid, Bishop Baglioni assisting at the ceremonial. Even to this day, however, the building remains unfinished. The main entrance is at the east end of the church, and the choir to the west. Probably the buildings of the Canonica, and the rapid fall of the ground, prevented the main entrance being designed in its usual position. The church occupies a fine site overlooking the piazza; but the building is uninteresting and no advantage has been taken of the situation.

The nave and aisles are all of one height. They are separated by comparatively light octagonal columns, and the effect is to give an air of true Umbrian spaciousness. The roof is groined and the windows are pointed, but there is no architectural interest that need detain the visitor.

On entering the main door the tomb of Bishop Baglioni, mentioned above, is seen to the right. There are sculptured upon it the four cardinal virtues.

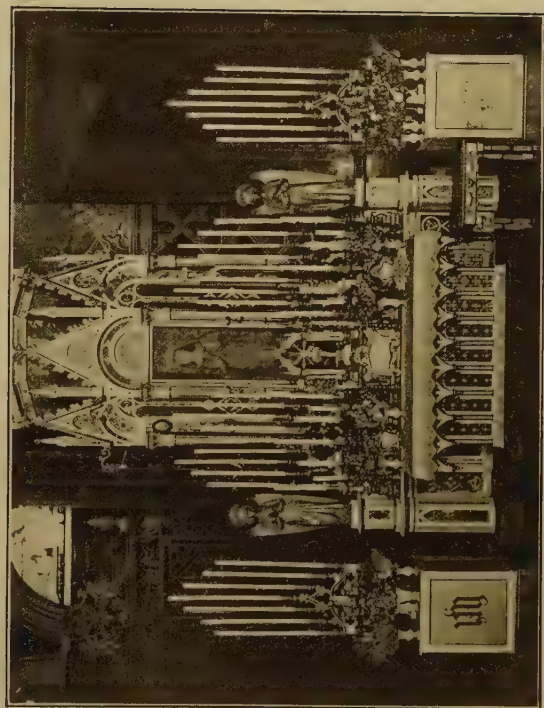
Fortitude with a pillar. Temperance pouring water into wine. Justice with a sword. Prudence with a book.

The first bay to the right is occupied by the Chapel of S. Bernardino, divided from the church by a beautiful iron screen. The chapel is fitted with elaborately carved stalls. The altar-piece is a Descent from the Cross, by Baroccio.

In the second bay is a picture presented by the guild of stone-workers and wood-carvers. The many fine examples of carving and intarsiatura in the Perugian churches testify to the importance and the ability of the latter.

Out of a third bay opens a small chapel containing the baptismal font. The cover has the symbols of the Evangelists and a cross in the central panel. On the pillar dividing the aisle from the nave is the picture known as "*Madonna della Grazie*." It has the reputation of working miracles, and has been ascribed to Giannicola Manni.

The right transept forms the winter choir. The altar-piece is by Luca Signorelli (1442-1523). Madonna and Child are seated on a raised throne with a garland hung over the back. To the left stand St. John the Baptist and S. Onofrio; to the right are S. Stefano and S. Ercolano. At the foot of the throne a most ungainly angel plays on a stringed instrument. The colour of the picture as we see it to-day is dull and heavy, nor is there any quality of design or treatment to compensate. Madonna is unrefined in type, St. John the Baptist is a sentimental poseur, while S. Stefano looks towards the Child with a supercilious air. S. Onofrio was one of those who led a solitary life in the desert, and for sixty years existed without human intercourse. He is a representative of the



THE "MADONNA DELLE GRAZIE"

extreme rigour of the ascetic life; but such a travesty of humanity as is here represented is unworthy of the artist. There is a certain kind of heavy and conventional dignity in the ordering of the picture, and it is usual to praise the glass with flowers which stands in the foreground; but it is difficult to realize that the painter of the frescoes at Orvieto should have also painted this picture. The date assigned to it is 1484.

The first bay of the left aisle is occupied by the Chapel of the Ring — so called from the ring with which Joseph espoused the Virgin. In 985 a Roman Jew who was selling jewels to a certain Ranieri, a goldsmith of Chiusi, presented him with an onyx, saying, "If thou knewest the dignity of this gem thou wouldst esteem it more than all the rest, for it is the ring with which Joseph espoused Mary." Ranieri took it home, and its existence was forgotten until, on the death of his only son, he was reminded of it, for when they were carrying the body to burial the youth rose up and reminded his father of the ring, as by its virtue he had been brought to life again. The ring was

taken to the Church of Sta. Mustiola, and there it worked miracles. But the monks into whose hands it was committed grew careless, and in 1473 one of them — a German, Winter by name — stole it, intending to take it to his own country. As he left Chiusi a dense fog was sent upon him so that he could see nothing; he lost his way and found himself back at his starting-place. Having a friend in Perugia, he went there, and was taken to Braccio Baglioni, who sent him to the Priors. It was unanimously agreed that the ring was a gift from heaven, and that it should never be allowed to leave Perugia. Siena and the Pope both tried to recover the treasure for Chiusi, but in spite of the weakness of their title the Perugians kept possession of it. The picture of the Sposalizio now at Caen, once attributed to Perugino, but now believed to be by Lo Spagna, was painted for this chapel. The intarsia work of the seats is fine. On the pillar forming the corner of the chapel is a fragment — a portrait of S. Bernardino.

On the wall on the fifth bay to the left is a relief by Agostino di Duccio. In the upper

part is the Father Eternal and two angels; below Christ rises from the tomb between Mary and St. John.

In the left transept is an urn containing the remains of three Popes — Innocent III. (d. 1216), Urban IV. (d. 1264), and Martin IV. (d. 1285). Jacques de Vitry tells how, when he came to Perugia to be consecrated Bishop of Acre, he found that Pope Innocent III. had just died. The body was exposed in the Church of S. Lorenzo (not, of course, the present building), abandoned by citizens and cardinals, who were busy with the election of a new Pope. The body was nearly naked, having been stripped of its rich garments the night before. "I entered the church and saw with my own eyes how brief and vain is the uncertain glory of this world."

Martin IV. was honoured by a public funeral, for which the people were taxed, as the canons were not willing to undertake the expense. Many lame and blind people were brought to the funeral, and through the merits of the Pope were healed and freed from their diseases.

The Canonica

To the west of the Duomo a mass of buildings include the Seminary and the Canonica. Within, there is a cloister and an open stairway and loggia, forming one of the most picturesque architectural monuments in Perugia.

In the cloister a number of fragments of sculpture, architectural details, and tablets have been preserved.

1. A figure of S. Lorenzo with his gridiron, of rude workmanship. 91. Creation of Eve. 94. Creation of Eve and the Fall. 134. Madonna and Child.

A tablet records the election at Perugia of the following Popes:—

Honorius III. in succession to Innocent III. in 1216.

Clement IV. in succession to Urban IV. in 1264.

Honorius IV. in succession to Martin IV. in 1285.

Clement V. in succession to Benedict XI. in 1305.

The last of these elections marks an epoch

in the history of the Papacy, and it had an indirect effect on the extension of popular government in Perugia, and in many other parts of Italy.

The death of the Emperor Frederick II. in 1250, and the conquest of Naples by Charles of Anjou in 1266, had destroyed the influence of the Empire. But though the Papacy had crushed the Empire, there was still the King of France to reckon with, and in this relation two strong and commanding natures met and crossed each other's paths during the last decade of the thirteenth century. Boniface VIII. was Pope and Philip the Fair was King of France.

The struggle between them ended in the downfall and death of Boniface in October, 1303. The cardinals at once elected Benedict XI. as his successor, but the position of the new Pope was so insecure that he left Rome after Easter, 1304, and came by way of Orvieto to Perugia. Feeling himself safe in Perugia, and dreading a general council which the enemies of Boniface VIII. demanded, he ventured to promulgate a Bull against those who had been concerned against the late

Pope. It was affixed to the doors of the Duomo in Perugia, and called upon those named to appear before him.

On the 7th July, 1304, Benedict died, and when the cardinals met, the two parties, those friendly to Boniface and those who favoured the King of France, were irreconcilable. The palace in which the conclave was held is described as being the residence of the Pope; it was contiguous to the palace of the bishop and to the rooms belonging to the Cathedral. The building was burnt in 1534, but from the description of its situation it probably occupied the site of the present Canonica and Seminary. Nineteen cardinals met in Perugia on the 10th July, 1304, and it was not till the 5th June, 1305, that the next Pope was proclaimed. A compromise was agreed upon — the friends of Boniface were to name three northern prelates, and the friends of the King of France were to make the choice; and so ended the last conclave held in Perugia. The result of this election was the settlement of the Papacy at Avignon for the seventy years of the Babylonish captivity. The fact that for the

greater part of the fourteenth century there was neither Pope nor emperor in Italy has a most important bearing on the history of popular government throughout the peninsula.

The Maiestà delle Volte

The Chapel of the Maiestà delle Volte is in the street which passes down from the Piazza S. Lorenzo under some high arches; it belongs to the building of which the Canonica and the Seminary form parts. The three-quarter-length figure of the Madonna is painted on a great scale. The Child stands on her knee and she caresses him tenderly. The drapery is richly decorated.

Church of S. Martino

In the Via del Verzaro, near the Piazza Felice Cavallotti, is the Church of S. Martino. Over the high altar is a picture by Giannicola Manni, representing Madonna and Child attended by St. John the Baptist and S. Lorenzo. The picture is graceful and pleasant, with the detached air not uncommon in Umbrian pictures.

The feminine figure of the Baptist is carefully balanced with that of S. Lorenzo, who has his gridiron and a palm branch to signify victory. The central group of the Mother and Child is insignificant. On the western wall to the left of the door as we enter is an illustration from the life of St. Martin. The young soldier wearing a helmet and coat of mail, and already encircled with the saintly nimbus, sits on a prancing horse attended by several armed men. His expression is that of an easy optimism, and he gracefully cuts his robe to give it to the beggar. Above him, Christ appears in glory attended by four angels; but as this part of the picture is much damaged, it is difficult to say whether He wears the robe of charity which St. Martin had given to the beggar.

Churches in the Northwestern District

The Church of S. Agostino, in the northwest district of the town, was originally of Gothic design, but it has since received a Renaissance lining. Some remains of Gothic chapels are shown in which there are traces of fourteenth-century frescoes.

In another side chapel there is a fifteenth-century fresco representing Madonna with SS. Joseph and Jerome. It is of the usual Umbrian type, and probably is the work of one of Perugino's scholars.

The most interesting feature in the church is the choir stalls, fine examples of intarsia-tura work, which were designed by Perugino and executed by Baccio d'Agnolo (1462-1543). The centre panels have a representation of the Annunciation.

The sacristy, which is beautifully panelled, has an armoria of the sixteenth century, containing a number of relics. A calendar with a relic of the appropriate saint, for each day in the year, should be noticed.

The larger part of the pictures in Sala X. of the Pinacoteca, in the Palazzo Pubblico, came from this church; and many of them formed part of the great altar-piece, painted by Perugino, the largest pieces being No. 20, the Nativity, and No. 11, the Baptism.

The picture was contracted for in 1502, but was not finished for many years. (See Dr. Williamson's "Perugino," p. 88.)

The Chapel of the Confraternity of S.

Agostino is entered to the right of the little piazza in front of the church. In it there are a number of sixteenth-century pictures. The roof is elaborately carved and gilded.

The round Church of S. Angelo stands on high ground near the walls and close to the gate of S. Angelo at the northwestern end of the city. Its circular form has attracted some attention, and it is said to stand on the site of a pagan temple.

The building rests upon sixteen columns of various sizes and styles; and there is also, near the high altar, a cippus with a Roman inscription, and behind the high altar a slab of stone, said to be a pagan sacrificial table, probably once used as the altar.

The sacristan shows a stone which was used to increase the sufferings of martyrs; when they were hung by their hands or by the hair, this stone was tied to their feet.

The church is remarkable for the number of relics it contains. The bodies of two children, S. Severino and Sta. Firmina, and the body of Sta. Justina are preserved, besides the skulls of many other saints.

There are some remains of Umbrian



GATE OF S ANGELO

fresco in the church; and in the chapel to the right the Madonna del Verde is said to be the earliest fresco of the Umbrian school in Perugia. The Gothic doorway outside of the church, probably added in the fourteenth century, has twisted pillars and capitals with foliage.

There is a fine view from the green sward in front of the church.

A pleasant drive may be taken by leaving the city through the gate of S. Angelo, the spot where, according to tradition, St. Dominic and St. Francis met while on their way to the court of Honorius III., then in Perugia, to receive from him the confirmation of their rules. After passing through the gate we see immediately in front the wooded hill crowned by the Church and Monastery of S. Francesco-al-Monte, the favourite retreat of Frate Egidio, one of the early disciples of St. Francis, and the scene of the visit paid by the French monarch to the simple brother. In the *Fioretti* it is told that Saint Louis of France, having heard of the great sanctity of Frate Egidio and desiring to see him, came to his house as a

poor pilgrim, and asked to see the brother. Straightway Frate Egidio left his cell, and without further questions they kneeled down and embraced each other, as though they had been close familiar friends, and all without speaking. Then having continued in silence for some time, understanding each other far better than if they had spoken, they parted; Saint Louis went on his journey and Frate Egidio returned to his cell.

Continuing down hill, through olive groves, we pass through the village of S. Marco, and a mile or two farther on, we see the remains of the aqueduct, built for the purpose of bringing water from Monte Pacciano into the town, during the latter part of the thirteenth century. There was much activity in Perugia in the direction of town improvements at this time, and amongst other enterprises there was this scheme to supply the citizens with fresh water. A commission was given in 1254 to a Messer Bonomo of Orte to bring water from Monte Pacciano, but his attempt was a failure; and it was not until 1276 that efforts were renewed under the direction of two Benedictine

monks, Frati Bevegnate and Alberto, and a Venetian architect Boninsegna.

The work was crowned with success, and on 12th February, 1280, water came into the piazza, and the names of the architects are recorded with much adulation upon the fountain.

Churches in the Northwestern District

The Church of S. Severo

In the eleventh century a certain Romualdo established a community of Benedictines at Camaldoli in the Casentino.

The rule of the monks was strict. They had no life in common, and even the labour prescribed by the rule was done in solitude. Their aim was to reform the practice of the Benedictine order.

A community of these monks settled in Perugia, and built a church and monastery, dedicated in the name of S. Severo, probably in memory of the Archbishop of Ravenna, Romualdo having been a native of that town, and a monk at S. Apollinare-in-classe. In this monastery Raphael, when a youth,

painted part of a fresco, which was finished many years afterwards by Perugino, towards the end of his life. The design fills a lunette, in the lower part of which is a niche with Madonna and Child. Raphael's part of the picture has for its centre Christ showing the wounds of the Passion. An angel floats in the air at each side in adoration, and over the head of Christ is the dove of the Holy Spirit. At the top of the lunette there was originally the Father Eternal, but nothing is now left except the A and Ω on the leaves of a book.

The intention of the design is to set forth a manifestation of the Trinity, which is without beginning and without end. In the lower part of Raphael's design are seated St. Benedict and S. Romualdo, each accompanied by two of their disciples. All are clothed in white, for according to the legend it was given to S. Romualdo to see a ladder reaching up into heaven: on it were his brethren in white robes, and so he changed the black habit of the Benedictine rule into the white one we see here.

With St. Benedict, the patriarch of the

whole order reformed and unreformed, sit his disciples, SS. Maurus and Placidus. With S. Romualdo are SS. Benedict and John, Camaldolese monks, who suffered martyrdom in Poland. St. Placidus and St. Benedict the Martyr have robes of rich colour over their white gowns.

The picture was finished by Perugino, who many years after painted the row of saints that stand below the design of Raphael. To the left are Sta. Scholastica and SS. Jerome and John the Evangelist, to the right St. Martha and SS. Boniface and Gregory the Great. St. Martha is perhaps placed here in relation to Sta. Scholastica as the one who, according to tradition, was the first to gather together a convent of sisters, while Sta. Scholastica as the first Benedictine nun may be regarded as the foundress of conventual life for women.

There is nothing in Raphael's part of the work to indicate his future fame; it may, however, be noticed that his faces are not of the broad-browed and flat type common with Perugino and many of his scholars.

The six large standing figures which

Perugino painted below are heavy and dull. They pose in purposeless attitudes, and, with their expressionless faces, they represent the master perhaps at his worst.

Churches in the Southeastern District

The Church of S. Domenico lies at the southeastern side of the town, on the way to S. Pietro dei Cassinesi. The campanile is one of the landmarks of Perugia, rising, as it does, a short tower, pierced with large openings. Its bald and neglected appearance is in keeping with the blank walls of rough brick work and the gaunt, half-ruinous look of the whole building. It is, indeed, no unfitting symbol of the renunciation of the world preached by the founder of the order to which it belongs, for it seems to owe nothing to the care of man.

The original Gothic design has received a Renaissance lining, better fitted to express worldly magnificence than the ascetic life of the mendicant preachers.

The only remains of the original Gothic church are some details of a chapel at the

foot of the belfry, reached by a door opening out of the northern transept, where there are fragments of frescoes relating to the life of Sta. Caterina. The great eastern window is also a remnant of the Gothic church. In the fourth chapel in the right aisle is a work by Agostino di Duccio (the sculptor of S. Bernardino). It consists of frescoes framed in graceful terra-cotta designs. The subject is the Glory of the Virgin, who sits in the semicircle at the top, with the Child upon her knee, attended by angels. Beneath are the two busts of David and Isaiah, the human ancestor, and the prophet of the life which was to work the salvation of mankind. At the sides of the monument are the Angel Gabriel and Madonna in Annunciation. Below them stand St. John the Baptist as forerunner, and S. Lorenzo as confessor-martyr and patron of Perugia. Around the niche, which is now empty, are small pictures illustrating acts of mercy and miracles wrought by the intervention of Madonna.

The large eastern window is filled with modern glass. The circle at the top of the window contains the figure of Christ with

cherubim and seraphim. Below, in the pointed arches, are prophets and evangelists. In the upper range of large figures the Archangel Gabriel and the Virgin are in the centre, SS. Peter and Paul at the extreme right and left. In the centre of the next course are the two Perugian bishops, SS. Ercolano and Costanzo, with St. Dominic and the martyrs SS. Stefano, Peter (Martyr), and S. Lorenzo. The next range of figures have the four doctors of the Church, Pope Benedict XI., and a Dominican; the lowest range of figures consists of six female confessors and martyrs.

The left transept contains the most important monument in the church, viz., the tomb of Benedict XI., by Giovanni Pisano. The Pope died in Perugia in 1304, and the work was executed shortly afterwards. The design suffers from the lightness of the supporting columns and the skeleton-like outline of the cusped arch and of the arcading which forms the upper part of the monument. Under it the Child sits on Madonna's knee and receives the homage of the Pope. The sculpture itself falls below the style of

the lower part of the monument, and the architectural forms interfere with the proper effect of this group. Neither are the busts of SS. Peter and Paul, a monk, and an Apostle, on the face of the canopy, at all equal to the main design. But when this is said, nothing except praise remains for what is one of the finest monuments and one of the most perfect examples of sepulchral sculpture in Italy. At the head and foot of the dead man are angels withdrawing the curtains so that we may see the recumbent figure. It must be admitted that the subject of the curtain-drawing angels, which became a Tuscan tradition, is rather petty in conception, but in this instance the extreme beauty and grace of the angels so occupies the mind that the motive is scarcely noticed. The figure of the Pope is a most harmonious design; the face suggests neither death nor life, but only eternal peace. The graceful lines of the drapery, and the solemn simplicity of the form, erring neither in gaunt asceticism nor in dramatic suggestion, make up a composition such as is hardly equalled elsewhere. The subtle art of Giovanni has

left behind all trace of Romanesque rudeness, and it has not yet suffered from the mannered weakness and the feeble melodrama of later times. . .

Benedict XI. filled the papal chair for a few months following the stormy life of Boniface VIII., and before the beginning of the seventy years of the Babylonish captivity at Avignon; but, as the sculptor has shown us, for him there is now no warfare. He has entered into the full harmony of existence, and this marble is a symbol suggesting with marvellous subtlety the existence which has neither beginning nor ending.

S. Pietro dei Cassinesi is a Benedictine foundation, dating from the later part of the tenth century. The church is Basilican in character, and the nave is divided from the aisles by antique columns removed from the Church of S. Angelo. The eastern part of the church is separated from the nave by a triumphal arch, on which is painted the Annunciation; the form of this part of the church is Gothic. There are no transepts, and the shallow recesses formed by the piers of the triumphal arch are used as



CHURCH OF S. PIETRO

organ lofts. The flat wooden roof is coffered, and richly coloured and gilded. No part of the wall surface is left without decoration of some kind, and although for the most part the paintings are uninteresting and poor, the general effect of the broad and simple nave, the brilliant colouring, and the dark masses of the choir stalls, is distinctly striking.

The founder of the monastery, S. Pietro Vincioli, was a man of force and character, and amongst other things he impressed his own generation by his power of working miracles. One of these is connected with the building of the church. It is recorded in a picture in the fifth bay of the right aisle, where a granite column (now the second to the left of the nave) is seen suspended in the air by the will of the abbot, the rope having broken.

Turning to the pictures in the church, there is immediately to the right of the central door an indifferent picture by Orazio Alfani (1510-1583) giving facts from the life of St. Peter. It contains a traditional portrait of Perugino.

Right Aisle — *First bay*. A pleasing painting by an unknown hand, representing Madonna and Child with St. Mary Magdalene and St. Sebastian.

Third bay. A very poor and mannered Assumption of the Virgin by Orazio Alfani. It serves to remind us of the depth to which art fell in the sixteenth century.

Seventh bay. A picture representing the choice offered to King David between war, pestilence, and famine.

Eighth bay. A picture attributed to Masolino (1383?–1440?), in which St. Benedict, attended by SS. Maurus and Placidus, gives the rule to a group of kneeling monks.

Ninth bay. A picture showing how at the intercession of Pope Gregory the Great the plague was stayed in Rome. The Archangel Michael appears in the sky sheathing his sword; below is the Castle of S. Angelo.

Tenth bay. To the right opens the small chapel dedicated to St. Joseph; above the door, on the inside, is a fresco by a scholar of Perugino.

Over the entrance to the monastery is a

Marriage of St. Catherine by Bonifazio. Opposite to the entrance to the monastery, on the pier of the triumphal arch, is a Descent from the Cross, attributed to Sebastiano del Piombo (1485-1547).

Left aisle — *Fifth bay*. Entombment, said to be by Perugino. It has nothing to recommend it; we note in particular the feeble rendering of the nude.

Seventh bay. Annunciation. Supposed to be a copy from Raphael, made by Sassoferrato (1605-1685). A paltry effect is given by the representation of the Father Eternal seen through a window.

Ninth bay. Adoration of the Magi, by Eusebio di San Giorgio (working 1492-1527). This picture is distinctly one of the most satisfactory in the church, and it places Eusebio on a higher level than other examples attributed to him in the picture gallery. We may remark the growing tendency to realism which permits the representation of one of the kings as a negro.

Farther on, in the left aisle, is a copy, by Sassoferrato, of Raphael's Entombment.

At the end of the left aisle is a Pieta by

Bonfigli (1425-1496). To the left, a stout and burly St. Jerome translates the Scriptures, and receives inspiration for the task from an angel. To the right stands St. Leonard, a stiff and expressionless form, bearing a yoke in his right hand. This symbol reminds us of his works of charity for those who suffer adversity in prison or in slavery. In the centre of the picture Madonna bears the dead body of Christ on her knee. There is no undue exaggeration of expression nor of weak sentiment, but there is an unimaginative realism and a consequent lack of true dignity in the conception.

The love of decoration comes out in the rich hanging in the background. This tendency may be noticed in some of the examples by Bonfigli in the gallery.

Three chapels open out of the left aisle. The most westerly, that of the Holy Sacrament, contains some exceedingly bad paintings by Giorgio Vasari (1512-1574), the historian of Italian art. These pictures are filled with enormous figures — pale, dry, hard, and uninteresting. They are supposed to have been painted in 1566. There is

also an unimportant fragment attributed to Lo Spagna (working 1503-1530?).

The Cappella Ranieri has a picture by Guido Reni (1574-1642), which need not detain the visitor.

The last of the three chapels is that of the Baglioni. There is a marble altar-piece by Mino da Fiesole (1431-1484), an unfortunate example of the master's manner. The subject is the Rising from the Tomb. Above the altar-piece is an Annunciation, an unimportant picture by Pinturicchio (1454-1513). On the right wall of the chapel is a picture by Sassoferrato.

In the sacristy, which opens out of the right aisle, there are five fragments by Perugino, parts of an altar-piece, the principal part of the picture having been taken from Perugia by the French. They represent three Benedictines, viz., Sta. Scholastica, the sister of St. Benedict, S. Maurus, one of his principal disciples, and S. Pietro Vincioli, the founder of the monastery. The other two panels represent two of the patrons of Perugia — SS. Ercolano and Costanzo.

There are in the sacristy and in an adjoin-

ing room some finely illuminated choral books. They are the work of Piero di Giacomo da Pozzuolo (1471-1472), Bocchardini di Firenze (1517-1518), and Maestro Mose di Napoli (1525-1526).

At the entrance to the choir there are to the right and left ambones decorated in the Renaissance style. They may be regarded as elaborate examples of the taste of the end of the fifteenth century.

The choir stalls are the work of Stefano of Bergamo (1535); the carving and the intarsiatura are said to be from designs by Raphael. On the arms of the stalls to the left there may be found the four symbols of the Evangelists, and the punishment of the damned — tormented by serpents. On the right are various symbolical animals, such as griffins, dolphins, dragons, winged horses, and sphinxes. On the carved panels at the back of the upper row of stalls there are designs of the Nativity, of St. Jerome in the Desert, and of the Ascension of Christ. The finest pieces of intarsiatura are on either side of the door opening on to the balcony at the back of the choir; they represent to



CHOIR STALLS OF S. PIETRO

the right the Finding of Moses by the daughter of Pharaoh, and to the left the Annunciation.

There is no doubt an intentional apposition in the choice of these two subjects, as Moses, the redeemer of the Israelites from bondage and their lawgiver, was regarded as a type and figure of Christ. Near to the entrance there is a "pila," or holy water basin, with the figures of fish carved in relief. The intention, probably, is to allude to the symbolical meaning given to the fish as a figure of Christ: "This is that Fish which in baptism is brought by invocation into the waters of the font, so that what was water is, from Piscis, called Piscina."

The Church of S. Costanzo is outside the town, on the same ridge of hill as that upon which S. Pietro dei Cassinesi stands, and is reached from the Porta S. Pietro. The small building, with its simple and graceful bell-tower, and its round-arched portico on the southern side, forms a picturesque group with the Casa di Parrochia behind. The ground falls away rapidly to the east, north, and south, and the piazza in

front of the church commands a wide view over the spacious Umbrian valley.

S. Costanzo, or Constantius, a Perugian, was elected the second bishop of his city, about the middle of the second century. He lived a godly and holy life, being described as just, strong, prudent, and temperate; and when the soldiers of Marcus Aurelius tried to constrain him to abjure his faith, he endured persecution with fortitude, issuing unhurt from the flames of the furnace, and singing hymns in the cauldron of boiling oil. He was decapitated near Foligno on the 28th of January, 154, or according to others in 173, and his body was carried by a pious disciple to the place called Aiola, outside of the gate of S. Pietro of Perugia, and honourably buried, upon the spot where the Church of S. Costanzo now stands. Every year on the 28th of January it was the custom of the magistrates, with the colleges of the arts, all the religious bodies, and the clergy, to visit the shrine of this saint, one of the patrons of the city, in procession, with the greatest devotion and magnificence. Ten prisoners were liberated annually on that



GATE OF S. PIETRO

day in honour of the saint, and all the expenses of the procession were borne by the commune. The present church is a building dating from the end of the twelfth century, and is especially noteworthy as the only example of the Romanesque style of architecture in Perugia. It has been restored mainly at the instance of the present Pope, Leo XIII., who was formerly Bishop of Perugia. The sculpture upon the western façade has several interesting features characteristic of the art of the twelfth century. The principal theme is the Announcement of the Gospel to all nations, and the regenerating power of the Word, upon the life of the Christian.

Upon the pediment at the top of the building is the figure of the Eternal surrounded by an aureole, at the foot of which spring branches of the vine, symbolical of the Church upon earth. Below this figure is a round window, with stone tracery composed of crosses and circles. In the centre is the Lamb, the Agnus Dei, holding the ensign of the Resurrection. Round the circular window are the symbols of the four

Evangelists supported on brackets. At the top are the eagle (St. John) and the angel (St. Matthew); at the bottom are the ox (St. Luke) and the lion (St. Mark). The window as a whole suggests the triumph of the Lamb, and the conquest of the world by the gospel, which was spread over the four quarters of the globe. The sculptured friezes both above and below this window have figures of animals in the attitude of adoration before a cross or an altar, significant of the praise which all creation offers to the Lamb. On either side of the porch upon the wall are four panels, with the cross as the principal theme. The two nearest to the door have on the arms of the cross and at the foot the figures of doves, lions, and griffins, representing the strong and the proud, who, as well as the meek and simple souls, take refuge beside the cross.

The sculpture round the doorway repeats, in a slightly different form, the ideas expressed in the upper part of the façade. The workmanship is rude, but in spite of the technical deficiencies the figures have an air of dignity and vitality.

Upon the lintel, the Eternal is seated on a rainbow enclosed within a glory, in the act of blessing and holding a roll of the law. At the sides are the four symbols of the Evangelists, each with an open book. The figure of the legislator, with his servants the Evangelists, was the subject almost universally chosen for the principal place upon the west front of churches up to the end of the twelfth century. After that time the usual theme became the Last Judgment. In place of the Manifestation of the Word there is the Judgment of the Judge.

The sculptured jambs have suffered much damage, and do not now appear to be in their original position.

A running scroll, with men and animals among the leaves, is a favourite subject for the lintel and side-posts of doorways. Other examples will be found on such Romanesque churches as the Duomo, Assisi; S. Pietro, and the Duomo, Spoleto; and the Duomo, Spello, where the main theme is the same, that of a plant bearing fruit and leaves, with men and animals in its branches.

There was evidently a symbolical signif-

icance attached to such figures, but no very satisfactory explanation has yet been given to cover all the variations in representation.

It has been suggested that the plant represents that which provides safety, shelter, and healing for the soul; it stands in fact for the same ideas as the symbolical tree in the book of Revelation, whose leaves were for the healing of the nations, and as the vine of the Lord, in the New Testament.

The figures in the branches are symbols, signifying both the unregenerate man and the man whose wild and savage nature is changed to a state of holiness by feeding upon the Word.

A careful comparison of the various examples to be found in Romanesque sculpture would very probably lead to a more satisfactory solution of the underlying meaning; and the writers would recommend such a study to other travellers as one likely to prove full of interest.

At S. Costanzo, on the left, at the foot of the jamb, are several wild beasts tearing and rending one another, as man in the



FAÇADE OF ORATORY OF S. BERNARDINO

unregenerate state is a prey to evil passions. Above these animals a contrast is offered by birds dwelling in safety and peace among the branches, significant of the joys of those who live in harmony with the divine ruling. These two groups may also allude to the punishment of the wicked in hell, and the reward of the blessed in heaven, while birds feeding upon the vine, and drinking from the chalice, are symbols of the sacrament of the Eucharist, the instrument by means of which the regenerate nature is strengthened and the hope of blessedness attained. The interior has been entirely restored. The walls and ceiling have been painted with symbolical designs, and several panel pictures, as well as the high altar are in the Byzantine manner.

The effect is good, and admirably suited to the general character of the building.

Churches in the Western District

The Oratory of S. Bernardino close to the Church of S. Francesco del Prato, has a façade covered with sculpture executed by Agostino di Duccio in the year 1461.

The central subject is the Glory of S. Bernardino. In the pediment Christ sits in the act of blessing, attended by angels in adoration. On the pilasters on each side of the building are two niches. The upper ones have a representation of the Annunciation, to the left the Archangel Gabriel, and to the right Madonna. The two lower niches have the Perugian bishops SS. Costanzo and Ercolano. The inscription running along the foot of the pediment is — “Augusta Perusia, MCCCLXI.” The doorway has, in the tympanum, S. Bernardino in an aureole of flame, surrounded by angels, on a long panel, and on two panels (beneath the figures in Annunciation) are sculptured acts of the saints. On the pillars at the sides of the doors the panels have angels in low relief, except on the lower ones, on which are figures of Poverty and Chastity to the left, and Temperance and Obedience on the right. The angels round the central figure, and those on the panels at the sides of the door, make music on a variety of instruments. The composition expresses joy and praise to God for the life of the

saint and for the miracles which he was permitted to work for the edification alike of the souls and the bodies of men. The virtues round the doorway represent the ascetic ideals of St. Francis and his followers, of whom S. Bernardino was counted among the stricter sort.

We shall better understand this monument if we compare it with others in which there was the same intention to glorify the divine power as it was manifested in the lives of great theologians and teachers. At Assisi, over the high altar in S. Francesco, Giotto has painted the Glory of St. Francis. Choirs of angels surround the saint, who bears the cross and a book. The Glory of St. Augustine is found at S. Francesco in Pistoia, where the saint is seated on a great throne, the dove of the Holy Spirit descends on him, doctors of the Church surround him, and below are the seven virtues and the seven liberal arts. Here it was not so much the ascetic ideal which was proclaimed as the cultivation of knowledge and virtue by which man attains the goal of life. A somewhat similar lesson was taught by the

Glory of St. Thomas Aquinas at S. Caterina in Pisa, where we see how he was inspired both by Holy Writ and Greek learning, and how he was thus enabled to bring light into dark places by his writings. The façade of S. Bernardino illustrates that view of life in which asceticism is the moving power in the world.

It is the ideal of the mendicant that is held up for imitation; it is by the Franciscan virtues that man is supposed to reach the true aim of life.

S. Bernardino spent his whole life in preaching, and on four occasions he came to Perugia. Once in the depth of a cold and hard winter he preached for five days, during which time the weather was softened so that there was neither rain nor cold. It was in 1425 that he made most impression; three thousand persons listened to him in the piazza; no work was done during the time, and debtors were freed from the danger of arrest.

Turning to the acts of the saint we see, below the figures of the Annunciation, two scenes, results of the preaching of S. Ber-

nardino. In one of them the sheep kneel, and behind the preacher there appears on the wall the famous monogram with the name of Jesus.

On the panel below the tympanum there are three separate scenes. To the left is the story of a child who was saved from drowning, and to the right the devil appears to a man who has been condemned and cast into prison. Satan, however, is cheated of his prey by the saint, who appears with the chalice, and saves the unfortunate prisoner. In the centre panel between these two scenes there is a graphic picture of the burning of vanities. On one occasion S. Bernardino preached against the painting of the faces of the women, against their false and counterfeit hair, and their licentious behaviour; and in like manner against the games, the cards, and the dice of the men, and against charms and things of witchcraft. On the Saturday he caused all abominable things to be brought into the piazza, where a wooden castle was built and filled with vanities. On Sunday fire was set to the pile, and the heat was so great that no one

could come near it. It was the memory of some such scene that prompted the design of the central panel, where we see the saint preaching, and groups of listeners looking on at the burning vanities, out of which the devil springs.

Agostino (1418-1481) is said to have been a pupil of Luca della Robbia, but his art has a distinctly personal character. He has no sympathy with mediæval methods, nor has he comprehension of the inherent quality of classical art. He is moved by the spirit of the Renaissance without being touched by that which is essential in Greek sculpture. His style has more affinity indeed with Gothic models. He has, however, no great respect for tradition of any sort, and seems to live and move in a fresh atmosphere, and with new motives. The larger statues in the round are not remarkable, but that of S. Bernardino in moderate relief has strength and vitality. It is in the figures in low relief, and particularly in the angels and the virtues round the door, that we find something new; a style which shows a powerful individuality, an extraordinary flexibility of mind, a re-

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markable capacity for making swiftmess of thought take visible shape. Subtle insight is matched by subtle execution. The long, lithe figures, with their flowing draperies, exceed the limits of gracefulness; the pose is sometimes forced, and the expression is occasionally exaggerated. But there is a joyousness in the life and an abandon in the feeling that carries us beyond such criticism. It is a picture of asceticism drawn by one who had no sympathy with it, and probably no true idea of what asceticism meant. There is no reserve or restraint in the method, and yet by some magic of brain and hand we get a true impression. The "Poverty" of Agostino is no mean associate for her who is wedded to St. Francis at Assisi.

S. Francesco del Prata

This is a Gothic church which received a Renaissance lining in the eighteenth century, and is now being restored to its original state.

In 1277 it is said that the Perugians, finding that there were several of the Order of St. Francis dwelling in their city, and

desiring to honour that great and glorious saint, decided to dedicate to him the ancient building formerly called Santa Susanna, a church that had always been much frequented by men of the city.

During the fourteenth century the Franciscans seem to have been held in high esteem by their fellow-citizens, and the buildings of S. Francesco were frequently used by the magistrates as places of meeting while the palace of the Priors was undergoing alterations.

In 1310 four of the Padri of S. Francesco, as they are called by the chronicler, were chosen for the important office of reporting to the Priors the names of those worthy of being elected Podestà. They were sent to the various towns of Tuscany, Lombardy, and the March, to record the names of all those who had dignity and dominion, and who were most renowned in arms and in letters. From this list of names furnished by the brethren the magistrates made their choice of the new Podestà.

The Frati of the Penitenza of St. Francis, as those were called who held the rule of the

saint in devotion but did not live the conventual life, also received important commissions from the governors of the town. In 1311, for instance, five of the brethren were elected by the Priors to collect a special tax laid upon the citizens, and a few years later ten were appointed to make a valuation of the property of the townfolk.

The Frati of the Penitenza also took part in the election of the Priors, which was often a combination of nomination and lot. In 1331 they were elected to assist the twenty-five citizens whose duty it was to make up a fresh list of the names of those considered to be eligible for election as Priors.

It was in this church that Fra Egidio, one of the first followers of St. Francis, was buried, but the sarcophagus containing his remains is now in the church attached to the University.

The gonfalone in the eastern chapel has already been noticed (see the note on "Banners," pp. 196-201). In the crypt there are some frescoes of the school of Giotto, representing the Sposalizio, the Death of the Virgin, and the Crucifixion.

It was in this church that the body of Braccio Fortebraccio was laid in great state by the Perugians. Fortebraccio was killed in 1424, while fighting near Aquila, and was buried near Rome. His nephew, Niccolo della Stella, a condottiere employed by Eugenius IV., caused the bones to be taken up, and to be blessed by the Pope and carried to Perugia.

The citizens were prepared to show the greatest honour to their former lord, and the coffin, covered with a blue velvet pall, was carried in procession from S. Domenico to S. Francesco del Prato. The day was observed as a general holiday, and the procession included the consuls of the arts, the Priors, the doctors of the University, escorted by forty knights.

PART II
Smaller Umbrian Towns

PART II—SMALLER UMBRIAN TOWNS

CHAPTER I

GUBBIO

GUBBIO is on a line of railway which connects Arezzo with Fossato, a station on the Foligno-Ancona line. The journey from Arezzo to Gubbio occupies from four and a half to five hours, and from Gubbio to Fossato is about an hour's journey. This railway also serves Città di Castello and Borgo San Sepolcro; it passes through a beautiful country.

Another way of reaching Gubbio, and one that is still more pleasant, is to drive from Perugia; this takes about four hours. Passing out of Perugia by the Porta Augusta the road descends rapidly to the valley of the Tiber. The stream here is often a succession

of shallows reflecting the willows on its banks, rather than the river that is familiar to us in Rome. It is crossed by a high bridge, and soon afterwards the road to Umbertide goes off to the left. The road to Gubbio lies over a range of hills bare of vegetation, and with but few inhabitants. Some sheep, tended by wild-looking men clothed in goat-skins, find a little grazing during parts of the year, and here and there a bit of open woodland reminds the traveller of a Surrey common. The charm of the drive is in the distant views over the Umbrian valleys, with the chain of the Apennines forming a magnificent background. For the last mile or two the road crosses a broad valley leading to the foot of Monte Calvo.

Gubbio is built on the lower slopes of the hill. The circuit of the ancient walls is too large for the modern town, which clusters round two immense mediæval buildings, the Palazzo dei Consoli and the Palazzo del Municipio. Above these stand the ducal palace and the Duomo, and for a background there is the grey side of Monte Calvo.

Gubbio was famous for its school of



PALAZZO DEI CONSOLI

pottery, particularly in the early part of the sixteenth century, when Maestro Giorgio produced the ruby lustre which has made him famous. Hardly any of this ware is to be seen in the public collections of the town, but those who are interested in it will find many examples in the South Kensington Museum.

The two municipal buildings are raised on huge buttresses of masonry. They form striking examples of the style of architecture usually found in fourteenth-century buildings of this kind. They suggest the spacious and magnificent life of the Italian city republics.

The Palazzo dei Consoli, on the right side of the Piazza della Signoria, has nothing to attract the traveller except its own architectural magnificence.

It is in the Palazzo del Municipio that the life of the modern town is centred, and it is here that the collections belonging to the city are kept. This building contains a great hall in which there is a collection of paintings, furniture, etc.

The entrance doors are of carved wood,

The principal objects of interest are as follows:—

Madonna and Child, a detached fresco of the school of Nelli.

A gonfalone, by Sinibaldo Ibi. On one side, "Mater Misericordia," on the other, S. Ubaldo.

Sta. Chiara and St. Francis, by Timoteo Viti.

Madonna and Child and St. John, a beautiful little picture by Fra Filippo Lippi.

St. Vincent. School of Nelli.

In a cabinet there is an authentic example of the famous Gubbio ware made by Maestro Giorgio. There are also other pieces by his son.

Two ivory powder-horns have scenes from the Passion carved upon them.

Models of the statues of SS. Ubaldo, George, and Anthony, which were carried in the procession of the "Ceri."

Diplomas are shown, granted by Frederick Barbarossa, 1163, Henry VI., 1191, Otto IV., 1211, Frederick II., 1241-1244, and 1248, and by the vicar of King Manfred, 1259.

The furniture includes many fine chairs

and cassoni. In the Sala del Gran Consiglio there are a number of portraits of persons who have been more or less connected with the town. Many of them are obviously unauthentic. Amongst others there are portraits of Oderigi, the painter, who died in 1299; various members of the Carpegna family; Julius II. (della Rovere); Innocent X. (Pamfilì); and Leo XII.

The most curious objects in the collection belonging to Gubbio are the Eugubine tables. Seven of them are preserved here. They are of bronze, and the inscriptions upon them are still a subject of speculation for scholars. Five of the tables are written in Etruscan letters, and two in Latin. The language, however, is neither Etruscan nor Latin. It is supposed to be an Umbrian dialect closely allied to Oscan and Latin. The date assigned is about two centuries before Christ, when the Umbrians, as a people, had no power, and when their numbers are said to have been greatly reduced. The writing is concerned with the ritual of a body of priests known as the Attidian Brethren. The tables were discovered in 1444.

S. Agostino

Just outside the Porta Romana is the Church of S. Agostino. In the third chapel to the right in the nave of the church is an interesting picture of Madonna and Child. At either side angels present a group of souls, a dove descends on Christ, and angels make music. The most attractive feature of the church is, however, the choir, where the story of St. Augustine's life has been painted. The pictures are attributed to Ottaviano Nelli, who is known to have worked between the years 1403 and 1444. He was the son of Martini Nelli, a pupil of Guido Palmerucci, a painter of Gubbio, supposed to have flourished between 1280 and 1345. Palmerucci is said to have been the pupil of Oderigi, who died in 1299, and who has become famous from the mention of his name by Dante. Ottaviano Nelli worked under the patronage of the Counts of Montefeltro, but it is said that only a single figure of St. Sebastian remains of all that he painted during a ten years' residence in Urbino.

We turn now to consider the paintings in the choir.

PLAN II

The frescoes on the roof, Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4, describe the training of St. Augustine. He himself has told us how he disliked the routine of the schools, and how he enjoyed the tale of Troy as a "most pleasant spectacle of vanity." He also describes how he was roused to a desire for wisdom by the reading of Cicero's "Hortensius," and how by its influence his affections were changed and his mind turned towards God. In each of the frescoes in the vaults, besides the picture referring to some point in the youth of St. Augustine, there is a figure of an Evangelist.

Leaving his native town of Teggaste, Augustine went to Carthage to continue his studies. He read the "Ten Predicaments" of Aristotle alone, and he studied all the books that he could get bearing on the liberal arts; and thus he became fitted to teach. From Carthage he went to Rome, and from Rome he was sent by the prefect Symmachus as a teacher of rhetoric to Milan.

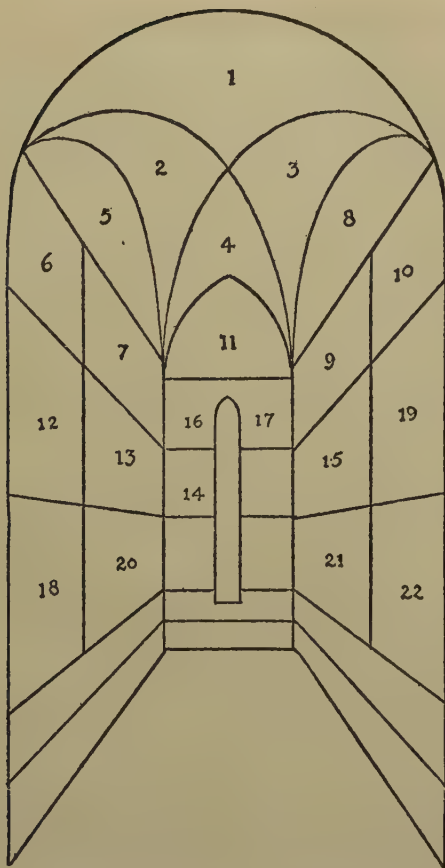
These journeys are painted in the frescoes Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8, and in the latter picture we see Augustine teaching.

At Milan he came under the influence of St. Ambrose and Simplicianus; the scene to the left of No. 9 probably represents Augustine taking counsel with the latter. To the right of the same picture the story is continued. While walking alone and being in much mental stress, he heard a voice saying, "Take up and read." Supposing it to be a voice from heaven he returned quickly to his friend Alypius, and seizing the book of the Apostles he opened it and read, "Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in strife and envying; but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof."

No. 10 depicts the baptism of St. Augustine. He and his son were baptized by St. Ambrose. It is said that during the ceremony in answering each other they made the verses of the "Te Deum laudamus."

No. 11 perhaps represents the setting out to return to Africa.

No. 12 shows the death of Sta. Monica,



Plan II.—Choir of S. Agostino Gubbio

his mother, at Ostia while they were on the way.

In No. 13 he lands in Africa. On his return to Africa (No. 14) he went to Hippo, and against his will he was ordained a priest by Valerian the Bishop.

No. 15. Valerian having resigned the bishopric, Augustine was constrained to take the office. This fresco represents his consecration.

Nos. 16, 17, and 18 probably represent some of the many controversies in which St. Augustine was engaged with Manicheans and others.

In No. 19 St. Augustine sees a vision of the crucified Christ.

No. 20 shows the death of St. Augustine. When the Vandals laid waste the country they besieged Hippo, and in the third month of the siege the bishop fell ill and died.

No. 21. Translation of the body to Pavia.

No. 22. The miraculous deliverance of a prisoner.

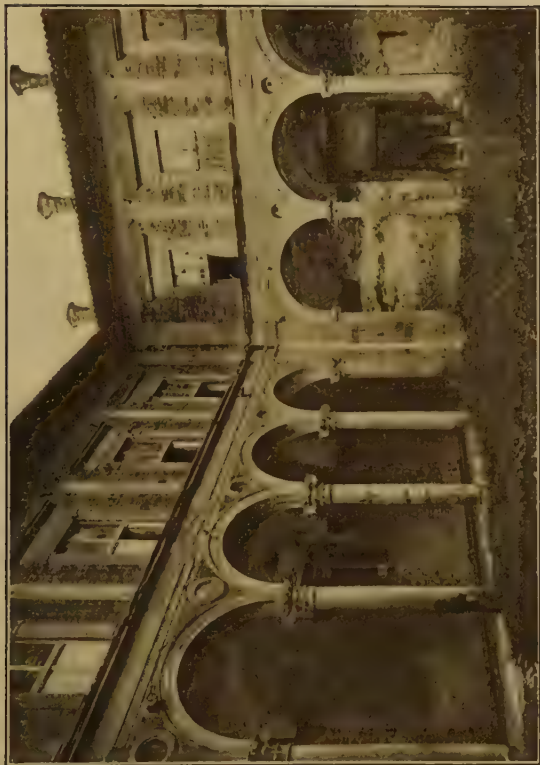
These frescoes were painted when Gentile da Fabriano was at work in various parts of Italy, and when Masolino and Masaccio

were transforming Florentine art. But the painter at S. Agostino was no such craftsman as Gentile, and he had no comprehension of the subtle change which was being worked out by Masaccio. The paintings have been covered with plaster, and it would therefore be unfair to judge of the colour; for the rest, a certain love of realism only produces a rather childish art, wanting alike in force and dignity.

Sta. Maria Nuova

Over one of the altars in this church is the fresco known as "Madonna del Belvedere." In the centre sits Madonna with the Child on her knee, to the right is St. Anthony, to the left S. Emiliano; the donors (Pinoli) are presented, one by an angel, the other by St. Anthony. Around Madonna the heavenly choir make sweet music. Over her head, God the Father in a glory of angels holds a crown. The colour is very harmonious, the robe is light blue, the undergarment is red and there is a thin veil of white; all the drapery is flowered with gold.

The background is a design in blue, each square being filled with an animal study in gilt. Behind Madonna two angels support a rich hanging. St. Anthony and the two donors are indeed the only undecorated elements in the picture. Sienese influence is strongly marked throughout. Madonna is a passive and unemotional woman; the heavenly music and the heavenly glory which surrounds her awaken no response of any kind. The picture is too unsubstantial to be real; it is too unimaginative to be ideal. The figures suggest no actual existence; they are symbols treated with little attempt at relief. There is a pensive atmosphere of devotion, and a feeling tender rather than powerful. Besides all this the picture is a charming study of colour, which comes naturally to so many of the painters who lived in these wide upland valleys. Some one has said that this is the most beautiful of all Umbrian paintings, and when we stand before it, it hardly seems worth while to contradict such a saying. The picture has been attributed to Ottaviano Nelli, and the date assigned is 1403 or 1404.



PALAZZO DUCALE

The Palazzo Ducale

In the year 1384 the people of Gubbio are said to have driven out the ruling family of the Gabrielli in order to welcome the sway of Antonio, Count of Montefeltro. Whether this be an accurate statement of what happened or no, the town became part of the possessions of the family which ruled as Counts of Montefeltro and Dukes of Urbino. In the fifteenth century Frederick, Duke of Urbino, began to build a palace in Gubbio, and the work was continued by his son Guidobaldo. In 1474 Frederick received the English order of the Garter, and in 1504 Guidobaldo was also made a Knight. He sent Balthasar de Castilione, the author of the *Cortegiano*, to represent him at the installation, and it was to the palace at Gubbio that the envoy returned to give an account of his reception. The use of the Garter among the ornaments of the building recalls the dignity bestowed on the two Dukes. On the death of Guidobaldo, the Dukedom of Urbino passed into the family of the Della Rovere. Their arms will be

noticed on some of the monuments in the town. The building of the palace is falling into ruin, but the courtyard still shows how graceful and dignified were the palaces built by the great men of the Renaissance.

The Duomo

Opposite to the entrance of the courtyard of the palace is the Duomo. Over the main door is a circular window with the Agnus Dei above it, and around it are the symbols of the four Evangelists, curious examples of forms half men, half animals.

In the nave of the Duomo there is, in the first chapel to the left, Madonna and Child between SS. Ubaldo and Sebastian, by Sini-baldo Ibi (working 1528). In the third chapel, to the left, there is St. Mary Magdalene crowned by angels, by Timoteo Viti (1467-1523). In the tenth chapel, to the left, Eusebio di S. Giorgio (working 1492-1527) has painted a Nativity with shepherds in adoration and the Magi in the background.

In a room off the sacristy there is preserved a fine vestment of Flemish work

presented by Pope Marcellus II. in 1555. In the centre of the cope is the Last Supper. The other scenes are the Agony in the Garden, the Kiss of Judas, Christ before Pilate, the Crowning with Thorns, the Flagellation, and the Bearing of the Cross.

CHAPTER II

PANICALE AND CITTÀ DELLA PIEVE

THE rise and the decline of the fifteenth-century Umbrian school of painters may be seen in the gallery at Perugia. But it is otherwise with the art of Perugino himself. The student, besides journeying through French museums, must visit many Italian churches which lie somewhat out of the beaten track, if he would estimate Perugino fairly.

Panicale and Città della Pieve have two remarkable examples of the master's work, and apart from the artistic satisfaction that may be gained, no one will regret the journey made to visit them. A pleasant method of reaching these towns is to drive from Perugia, following at first the line of railway to Terontola, and then turning aside along the southern shores of Lake Trasimeno.

Panicale lies above the level of the lake, and during the long climb up to the town there are lovely views of the lake, with the Umbrian and Tuscan valleys and mountains as a background.

Panicale is no more than a village if we regard its size; but the towers and walls, the gateway through which we pass, the paved streets shadowed by high houses, the piazza, fountain, and municipal buildings, all remind us that in Italy the dignity of life resting directly on ancient civilization does not depend upon a teeming population. It was in the Church of S. Sebastiano that Perugino painted the martyrdom of the saint. The visitor will do well to remain near the door of the church, and not attempt to go near the picture. Let him use a good field-glass, and he will be able to enjoy the single figure of St. Sebastian, pale in colour, hardly relieved indeed from its delicate background, and distinguished by simplicity and grace. The scene is set in a semicircular portico of Renaissance design. There is a most charming air of noonday in summer. It is the court of some palace far too magnifi-

cent to be crowded: a place where life is lived on too great a scale to allow of ordinary emotion. St. Sebastian stands bound to his pillar, without a trace of personal anxiety. He looks upwards with a devout and somewhat melancholy air. In an evil moment Perugino has added an uninspired and unimaginative design in the pediment above, which is without charm of any kind. Fortunately, both this part of the picture and the archers below can be cut off from the central design, if the spectator is at a sufficient distance.

Another fresco attributed to Perugino, and unfortunately much damaged, is preserved in this church. Madonna and Child are attended by four angels making music. Two angels float in the air above, holding a crown over Madonna's head. Below kneel St. Mary Magdalene and a bishop.

The road from Panicale to Città della Pieve leads down a steep hill into a valley, where the stream is lined by poplar trees, and where even in the heat of summer there is verdure. Several small hill towns are passed, and, as the high ground is again

reached, views of Lake Trasimeno, of Cortona, and of Perugia, appear and disappear as the road rises and falls.

The town of Città della Pieve stands high above the railway which passes between Chiusi and Orvieto. It is the seat of a bishop, and in the Duomo there are several pictures of the school of Perugino, of no great merit. The subjects are: Madonna and Child with SS. Peter, Paul, Gervasius, and Protasius, behind the choir. To the right of the choir, Madonna and Child on a high throne, with SS. John the Evangelist and Peter Martyr, and St. John the Baptist, and another martyr. In the first chapel to the left in the nave, is the Baptism of Christ.

The object of a visit to this place is the great fresco by Perugino, in Sta. Maria dei Bianchi. It is an immense design, twenty-six or twenty-eight feet wide, representing the Adoration of the Magi. The picture was painted in 1504. It is a busy scene. Soldiers and others ride down the hills in the background. Shepherds in sentimental pose tend their flocks in the middle distance. In the foreground the old king kneels before

the Child, while an attendant holds his crown, and, at some little distance to the right, another king of middle age also kneels. These two kings are nimbed. The third, a young man, stands behind; he wears a crown over his hat, and has no nimbus. There are attendant groups to right and left, each figure carefully placed, and wearing a self-conscious air.

The picture has been damaged and the gracious effect of the colour has to some extent gone, but there is still a flash of gold in the detail, and in the far distance there is some dream of the Lake of Trasimeno lying between gentle hills, on which grow trees that are only seen in Perugino's frescoes. As the traveller drives down among the oak woods along the steep road which leads to Chiusi, he will count himself fortunate in memories of the celestial landscape which will haunt him long after he has forgotten the somewhat feeble drama of the picture.

CHAPTER III

CHIUSI

CHIUSI, the Etruscan Clusium, was an ancient city known as Camars, and probably of Umbrian foundation. It has a commanding position upon a hill, rising above the fertile valley of the Chiana, and near to a small lake which bears its name. Clusium became one of the chief towns of the Etruscan confederation and was probably at the height of her power under her chieftain, Lars Porsena, who, about 505 B. C., according to the legendary history of Rome, joined the deposed tyrant, Tarquinius Priscus, and attacked the city. A tomb, discovered in the neighbourhood of Chiusi, with a number of labyrinthine passages, has been supposed to correspond with Pliny's description of the celebrated mausoleum of Porsena, but later investigations have shown that this is

not one single sepulchre but a collection of tombs connected by underground passages.

Judging from the cemeteries surrounding the town, Clusium must have been a powerful and wealthy city, with a long history. The well-tombs containing pottery of a primitive description date from the seventh and eighth centuries B. C., while the stone-built sepulchres and the painted chambers cut out of the rock give evidence of the continued existence of a large population in the district up to the third and second centuries before our era. The chief interest of the modern town is in the Etruscan collections belonging to the municipality, and the tombs of the district.

The date of the subjugation of Clusium by the Romans is not known, and few traces remain of the Roman occupation.

The town became the see of a bishop at an early date, and the Christian catacombs in the neighbourhood prove the existence of the Christian society at a remote period. The Cathedral of Sta. Mustiola is said to date from the year 765. It is an ancient structure which has lately been remodelled and decorated in imitation of the early basilicas.

In the nave there are eighteen ancient columns with different capitals. The church is dedicated in the name of Sta. Mustiola, a noble matron and a citizen of Chiusi, who suffered martyrdom in the time of the Emperor Valerian.

During the Middle Ages the town was of no importance, and had a bad reputation for unhealthiness on account of the surrounding marshes. It was the custom for the chief magistrate of Chiusi to wed the lake annually with a ring, as was done similarly by the Doges of Venice. Dante, in the Comedy, cites Chiusi as an instance of a city that has come to its appointed end. The town, however, has risen from its state of decay since the marshes in the valley of the Chiana have been drained, and is now a small but fairly prosperous place.

The Tombs

The following five tombs in the neighbourhood of Chiusi are quite accessible for visitors:—

(1.) Deposito della Scimia, the Tomb of the Monkey.

- (2.) Deposito del Gran Duca.
- (3.) Deposito del Poggio-Gajella, commonly called the Tomb of Porsena.
- (4.) Deposito del Colle.
- (5.) Deposito di Grande Vigna.

The two first of these tombs, the Della Scimia, and the Gran Duca, lie in the same direction, and taken together they give a fair idea of the general character of the paintings and sepulchral architecture of the neighbourhood.

The custodian of the tombs can be engaged at the Museo Civico. If a carriage is taken, the excursion may be made in about two and a half hours. Leaving the town in a north-easterly direction, the road winds rapidly down hill between red sandstone banks and overgrown hedges, and in front is a tract of richly wooded country covered with oak groves and olive gardens.

Turning to the left, within a few feet of the level of the Lake of Chiusi the road crosses the railway to Siena, and soon after brings us to the foot of the hill, which must be climbed on foot.

In about a quarter of an hour a farm is

reached, the Podere della Paccianese, where the tomb known as the Deposito del Gran Duca was discovered in 1818. It comes as a surprise to the traveller when a door which seems to form part of the outbuildings of the farm is opened and gives entrance to a low chamber of beautiful and regular masonry with a vaulted roof. The room is about ten feet by thirteen feet, and has benches of solid stone along the sides. The door is formed of two blocks, one of which still remains in position, and above the lintel is an arch of masonry.

Eight chests containing ashes stand upon the benches. Only three of these have recumbent figures upon the lids, and the reliefs upon the chests are chiefly symbols relating to the underworld.

Beginning to the left of the entrance are —

(1.) A round disc between two half shields.

(2.) A hippocampus, significant of the migration of the soul.

(3.) A Medusa head, probably placed on the chest as a talisman to ward off any who might disturb the ashes or injure the shade.

(4.) Another Medusa head between two furies holding torches.

(5.) A young man riding upon a panther. This relief resembles the design of Bacchus riding upon a panther, of the famous bronze mirror in the Museum of Perugia.

(6.) A hippocampus.

(7.) Shields.

(8.) A marine deity.

The Deposito di Grande Vigna, about three-quarters of a mile from Chiusi to the southwest, is a stone-built tomb very similar to the Gran Duca. The urns, however, of this sepulchre have all been removed to the Museo Civico.

Leaving the farm, the way to the Deposito della Scimia is still farther up the hillside.

The tomb is reached at the bottom of a long staircase which has been cut out of the slope. The sepulchre, which is supposed to be the oldest of the painted tombs found in Chiusi, has four chambers, all with benches against the walls. The roofs are cut out of the tufa, and are artifiically coffered. Some have cornices. The principal paintings are in the central chamber, and represent the

games, races, and sports held at the funeral in honour of the dead.

There is no evidence of symbolical intention in any of the parts of the design. The only spectator is the person in whose honour the tomb is decorated, and in the figures of athletes, giants, dwarfs, and pugilists the Etruscan artist has given full license to his love of simple realism. In dealing with these thoroughly native figures in their national costumes he is not restrained by the influence of Hellenic compositions or conceptions. He depicts the people just as he saw them in everyday life.

Beginning on the wall to the right of the entrance we see first the grave and dignified figure of a seated lady, the solitary spectator of all that follows. This figure is probably a portrait, but the face is now much destroyed. She sits under an umbrella, and has a footstool at her feet.

In front of her are a number of horses, some mounted and some led, and a man blows a trumpet as though announcing that the races are about to begin.

On the wall, on the other side of the door,

is a curiously dressed person described as a pyrrhic dancer. He has a shield and a spear, and wears a helmet with two long cockades. The Etruscan dancers were famed for their skill and for their eloquence in dumb show. Opposite to the dancers are two small musicians blowing pipes. Following round the room, on the wall opposite to the door, are two naked pugilists with their coats lying upon a seat beside them. They have each one hand open for defence, and the other closed for attack. (The custodian explains these figures as men playing the Italian game of "moro.") Next to the pugilists is a tall naked man with a spear taking a flask from a boy who carries a branch.

Passing the entrance to the next chamber, there follow two wrestlers in extraordinary attitudes, attended by an official of some sort, who wears a wreath of leaves, a striped tunic, and high boots. He appears to act as umpire. Beyond are horse races, where the riders are seated sideways upon their beasts, and the sports close with the figure of a giant dragging a dwarf along by the wrist.

The figures are for the most part coloured a dark red and outlined with black. Underneath them there is a Greek scroll of the key pattern, and round the top of the wall is a frieze consisting of the egg and dart moulding in an elementary form.

In the chamber which leads from the central room, in a straight line from the entrance, there are remains of unfinished paintings. The figures of two young men are the only distinguishable fragments. In the recesses of the coffered roof are four ivy leaves in a circle, and at the corners four furies.

The Deposito del Collo, close to the town on the southeast, has paintings illustrating in a similar fashion the sports and games held in honour of the dead.

The Deposito del Poggio-Gajella, to the northeast of the town, is a collection of tombs in the hillside arranged in three tiers, one above the other. There is also a circular chamber connected with a number of labyrinthine passages, which gave rise to the supposition that this was the tomb of Porsena.

The Museums

There is no official catalogue of the Etruscan collection, which presents three points of interest —

(1.) The Bucchero ware peculiar to the district.

(2.) The growth of the art of sculpture in representing the human form.

(3.) The illustration of the Etruscan doctrine of genii, or attendant spirits.

The Bucchero collection. This black ware was the national pottery of the Etruscans. Its manufacture became established about the end of the seventh century B. C., and it maintained its popularity for the space of three centuries. Chiusi became a centre of the Bucchero industry and developed a style peculiar to itself, which, after the end of the sixth century, was adopted throughout Etruria.

Dealing first with the style of Bucchero, which preceded the pottery peculiar to Chiusi, the usual ornament consists of bands of figures in low relief of Assyrian and Egyptian type. The figures are, as a rule,

those of stags, panthers, lions, and other wild beasts. The artists seem to have had no definitely fixed style of their own, but copied the various designs of the imported models. A few examples of this period of Eastern influences will be found in the cases.

When we turn to the *Bucchero* peculiar to the neighbourhood of Chiusi which was the product of a later civilization, we find that the style of the designs is much more stable.

The characteristic Chiusi vases are tall, with slender necks, and generally crowned by a bird on the lid; while the body of the vessel is so covered with figures in high relief that the outline is almost lost. We see here another instance of the absence of any highly artistic perception among the Etruscans. When they cease to copy others, their designs become tasteless and overloaded with ornament.

These vases, which were used to contain the ashes of the dead, are found in the tombs of an early date. The reliefs upon them are symbols relating to death and the life of the shades.

Wild beasts carrying off their prey express emblematically the capture of the living by Fate or by other messengers of Death, in accordance with the belief that the end of human life is due to an act of violence on the part of unseen powers. The horses' heads, which appear among the figures in relief, indicate the journey of the soul to the underworld, and the veiled women's faces are probably personifications of Death or of the spirits of the dead. Some of the geometrical designs include the symbolical figure known as the gamma cross or svas-tika, which is to be found among the signs of almost every semi-civilized race. On the shelves are a number of trays with a raised edge, known as Focolari, which are only found in the Bucchero ware. They contain several pots of varying shapes and sizes, and are found, as a rule, on the floor of the tomb, placed beside the cinerary chest, or close to the bench upon which the dead bodies were laid. It is supposed that the vessels contained either toilet preparations, or food and drink for the use of the shade. Several of these trays are ornamented with symbol-

ical figures, such as veiled faces, wild beasts carrying off their prey, and Gorgon heads. One of the most conspicuous objects on the shelves beside the Bucchero is a vase of unbaked clay of extraordinary appearance. On the lid is a statuette of a woman, with two long locks of hair coming down on either side of her face, and a mass of plaits clubbed together behind. She presses a flower to her breast, and kisses the tips of the fingers of her other hand as though in the act of saying farewell. Below her, rising from the sides of the vase, are two circles of small veiled female figures with huge dragon heads between them, both being personifications of the infernal regions.

The statue in the centre may represent Persephone, queen of the lower regions, or it may be simply the portrait of the dead woman whose ashes are contained in the vase. In either case the coquettish action of the little figure seems strangely incongruous in the midst of the grim images of death.

Among the collections of bronzes (at present in the old building) are various

domestic utensils and toilet implements, such as lamps, strainers, mirrors, strigils, and razors. A large bronze sacrificial vessel or brazier has seven small statuettes attached to the brim, some male and some female.

The Sarcophagi, Cinerary Chests, and Statues. There are still a few chests in the old building of the museum, but by far the larger number and all the important pieces are now removed to the new museum.

This collection affords good illustrations of the various stages in the art of representing the human form. The first stage is represented in Chiusi by vases with human heads for lids, which may perhaps be accounted for as follows:—In some of the primitive well-tombs cinerary vases have been found with a mask of a human face hung round the neck. This mask was probably taken from the face of the dead and attached to the vase for the purpose of marking the identity of the ashes. It is possible that this may have suggested the idea to the potters of Chiusi of bringing the vase and the mask into closer connection by

making the lid into a human head which should also be a likeness of the dead person.

The body of the vase containing the ashes then came to be looked upon as a figure of a human bust and shoulders, and the handles were replaced by arms with fingers. Ornaments were added, such as necklaces, earrings, and bracelets, and the grotesque production was placed upon an armchair made either of bronze or terra-cotta. Such vases are called *canopi*, and all the known examples have been derived from the neighbourhood of Chiusi. They are made of Bucchero and of terra-cotta, and sometimes the vase is of bronze with a clay head. The heads of the *canopi* are movable, and are generally perforated with holes on the top, for the purpose, it is supposed, of allowing the shade to escape.

The efforts of the artist are all directed towards the production of a portrait. Hence peculiarities of feature are accentuated, such as long or short noses, large or small chins, and the particular fashion of wearing the hair.

Having now obtained a roughly modelled

head and shoulders, the next step was to convert the vase into the trunk of the human body without legs.

In the new museum, to the left of the entrance in the corridor, are several examples of this stage of representation. No. 483, for instance, has a movable head upon a rudely formed trunk without legs, and is placed upon a seat in the same fashion as the *canopi*.

These primitive hollow statues made in a sitting posture and with two feet added, resemble the seated figures of archaic Greek type; but always with this notable difference, that the Etruscan artist never loses sight of his intention to secure the likeness of a given individual. His power of modelling the features is small, but he takes care to reproduce those traits which shall be easily recognizable. The seated statue of a woman, in the corridor, holding a pomegranate in her outstretched hand, is an interesting example of realism combined with archaic conventionalism and rigidity.

Another primitive statue, close beside the last mentioned, may be considered before

passing on to the later sculptures, although it belongs to a different category to these portrait figures. It is a half-length statue of a woman in fetid limestone, probably of great antiquity. It was found at Chiusi, used as a tombstone, and is supposed to represent Persephone, Queen of Hades. The hair is arranged in quaint rigid plaits. The eyes are wide open and expressionless, and the lips are parted with a set smile. This is evidently no realistic portrait, but an attempt to represent an ideal type of the "desolating slayer."

The third stage of representation is reached when the sculptor succeeds in realizing the human form, and ceases to use his figures as receptacles for the ashes. The dead person is represented as reclining upon a couch that forms the lid of the chest or sarcophagus in which the remains are preserved. Many of the figures are so lifelike that we seem, in this hall, to be in the presence of a large company of men and women resting at ease upon their stone couches in the gay intercourse of a perpetual festival.

The realistic effect would have been much

greater if all these figures had retained their original covering of paint. The well-preserved statue of the comely matron, Seianti Thanunia, which was obtained from Chiusi and is now in the British Museum, gives some idea of the striking appearance of such life-like images when the original bright clear colouring has been retained.

A few of the sarcophagi and chests in the museum are of marble, but the sculptors as a rule did not trouble themselves to procure the finest materials. They used the stone of the district, and trusted to the covering of paint to hide the deficiencies.

At Chiusi the chests and statues are chiefly of travertine or of the soft fetid limestone found in the neighbourhood.

Two large sarcophagi with recumbent figures of men upon the lids may be taken as good examples of the realistic portrait statues.

One sarcophagus, at present placed about the middle of the hall, is moulded in the form of a couch or bedstead, with polychrome decorations. On the lid lies the slight figure of a young man with a scroll

in his hand. He is not reclining upon his left elbow in the usual attitude, but lies with one hand under the pillow upon which his head is resting. He has a lean face with strongly marked eyebrows, a small but well-defined chin, and a thin firm nose. The impression given is that of an acutely intellectual face. The hair is painted black and crowned with a chaplet. It was the custom among both Greeks and Romans at festive banquets to wear garlands, which were sometimes made of wool, sometimes of leaves and flowers. Similar crowns, according to Dennis, were given by the Etruscans to the dead as symbols of the kingdom which they had come to inherit, where there was an eternal festival and freedom from care.

No. 752, another large stone sarcophagus near to the entrance, has the figure of a young man of an entirely different type to the last. His hair is closely clipped, and he wears no jewels. He has a low forehead and small chin, but in spite of insignificant features, he has a genial and pleasant expression.

Some of the recumbent figures are care-

fully finished and of considerable merit; many, however, in this collection can hardly be called works of art. The figures are like dwarfs with disproportioned heads, and are evidently the productions of untrained workmen.

The subjects of the reliefs upon the sarcophagi and chests should be carefully studied.

A comparatively small number are illustrations of the mythology and heroic legends of Greece, while the larger proportion represent scenes of farewell between the dead and their relations, and the journey of the soul to the underworld.

The mythological scenes, it will be noticed, are all of a tragic character, and relate to the judgments of fate. The sin of presumption, and the necessity of submission to the decrees of the immortals, is illustrated by the punishments meted out to those who had vainly imagined themselves to be like gods, or who had committed the crime of crimes among primitive societies, the bloodshed of kindred.

The subjects which occur most frequently,

are the sacrifice of Iphigenia, the combat between Eteokles and Polyneikes the Theban brothers, the death of Hippolytos, the destruction of Laokoon, the tragic end of Priam and Cassandra, the conflicts of the Greeks with the Amazons. (For a short explanation of some of the principal Greek legends illustrated upon Etruscan chests, Perugia, p. 48.)

Scenes Illustrating the Migration of the Soul

A large number of the urns represent the soul accompanied by its attendant spirits and by demons and furies on its way to the gate of Hades.

The collection affords a good opportunity of studying the Etruscan demonology and the doctrine of genii or attendant spirits.

The attendant spirits are generally represented as young female figures with wings, clothed in tunics and high boots with flaps, and carrying torches. They are introduced into all the deathbed and farewell scenes, and they invariably go with the soul on its journey to Hades. From the inscriptions

upon the painted vases we learn that such spirits were called by the Etruscans "Lasa."

The Lasa is, as a rule, young and beautiful. She is the faithful companion of the soul not only in life but in death, for it was believed that the Lasa went with the shade to the underworld and was transformed into a serpent. Besides these benevolent spirits we find a large number of malevolent beings, the denizens of the lower world and the messengers of Death.

Charun is the most noticeable among the demons. He resembles the Greek Charon in some aspects, but his duties are not only to convey the souls but to punish the condemned. He is represented as a brutal-looking man, with an enormous nose, pointed chin, and large tusks. He is generally armed with a hammer, sometimes with an oar. He is seen striking down his prey or dragging them towards the gate of Hades, which is guarded by a three-headed dog. Charun is frequently accompanied by fates or furies. They are female figures with wings, and dressed in the same fashion as the Lasa. But they show no goodwill towards

their victims, and seem to exult in the midst of death and slaughter. Sometimes they are represented as old and ugly women, with large noses and prominent chins; but they also are represented as young and beautiful, and hardly distinguishable in appearance from the Lasa.

This world of winged spirits and of mediæval-looking demons is introduced into the illustrations of the Greek heroic legends. When Paris and Helen set sail, a fury flies above their heads carrying an extinguished torch. Another of these spirits watches the conflict between the Theban brothers (as on No. 232), or springs up between them when the fatal blow had been given, and lays a hand upon the shoulder of each. Charun looks on at the gate of Troy when the wooden horse is about to enter.

The introduction of these incongruous figures into the Hellenic composition is a reflection of the persistent aim of the Etruscan artist to impress the stamp of reality upon his work. It must be admitted that his imagination is often unrestrained by good taste or a sense of dignity, and that

the conception of the scene is brutal and without elevation. The sword that pierces the hero is always driven up to the hilt, and no detail is omitted which will heighten the appearance of suffering. In scenes of human sacrifice the victim about to be slain upon the altar is held down by the hair.

No. 886, a small chest on the floor, has a clearly defined picture of the soul, accompanied by its attendant *Lasa*, with the usual wings, high boots, and a torch. These two figures are followed by a *Charun*, a bare-legged man with grotesque features and armed with a hammer.

A number of small chests on the shelf represent a winged fury drawing the soul towards the gate of Hades, which is guarded by a three-headed dog.

No. 802 is a good example of the same scene.

Nos. 57, 422, 805, and 838 illustrate scenes of the parting between the dead and the living at the gate of the tomb. The attendant *Lasa* stands with an extinguished torch, and in some cases *Charun*, armed

with his hammer, prepares to drive the shade before him.

Many of the small chests have simply a representation of a gate or door of the tomb, between two cypresses. The cypress tree was sacred to the god of the underworld, a powerful and much dreaded deity, to whom at one period of their history the Etruscans sacrificed human beings.

CHAPTER IV

MONTEFALCO

THE small town of Montefalco may be reached by driving from Foligno, from Spoleto, or from Assisi. It is on the top of a hill, and in all directions there are lovely views of the Umbrian valleys, which make it well worth a visit, apart from its artistic interest.

The principal pictures are now gathered together in the Church of S. Francesco, which is virtually the town museum. In the choir Benozzo Gozzoli painted a series of pictures of the life of St. Francis about the year 1452. Benozzo is interesting as having been the pupil or assistant of Fra Angelico, and also as having influenced several Umbrian painters, such as Bonfigli, Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, and Niccolò da Foligno. The colour of these frescoes is bright and cheer-

ful, and there is a simple, almost childlike realism throughout. The necessary figures are set down plainly, the supposed action is described simply, and a suitable background is provided. There is no exaggeration in the expression of feeling, nor is there any imagination. The whole is a moderately competent piece of craftsmanship. The story of the life of St. Francis begins at the lower left-hand corner.

PLAN III (P. 99)

No. 1. Francis is born in a stable; the ox and the ass are in the background.

No. 2. A pilgrim prophesies concerning Francis. A poor man spreads his cloak for Francis to walk upon.

No. 3. Francis meets a poor nobleman and gives him his cloak.

No. 4. Francis dreams and sees the vision of a palace decked with flags and coats-of-arms. Christ appears to him and tells him that the palace is for him and his warriors.

No. 5. Francis renounces his family and the world; the bishop covers him with his robe.

No. 6. Pope Innocent III. dreams that he sees the Church of St. John Lateran supported by a poor man.

No. 7. Innocent III. approves the rule. Benozzo has succeeded here in drawing a distinction between the worldly shrewdness of the cardinals and the rapt devotion of Francis.

No. 8. The devils are exorcised from the town of Arezzo. The figures of the two brethren, Francis in prayer and Silvestro commanding the devils, are good.

No. 9. Francis preaches to the birds near Bevagna. He speaks with conviction and fervour; the brother who accompanies him is lost in amazement. In the background is Monte Subasio, with Assisi in the distance.

No. 10. Francis blesses the people of Montefalco.

No. 11. Death of the Lord of Celano.

No. 12. Meeting of Francis and Dominic. To the left the Virgin kneels before Christ. She shows the deeds of Francis to Christ, and He bears the lance with which the wounds of the stigmata are to be given.

No. 13. Francis before the Soldan. Fran-

cis stands in the fire with the cross in one hand and the other raised. Two wise men look on in fear, and with an air of indignant protest. Benozzo has painted aloes in the background as being suitable to an Eastern land, but he does not forget his own Florentine cypresses.

No. 14. The Presepio. Francis folds the Child tenderly in his arms and presses his lips to the Child's face. The ox and the ass lie under a low shed in the church. The architectural background shows the application of Renaissance detail to a Gothic interior.

No. 15. Francis receives the stigmata.

No. 16. The dead body is examined, and the facts of the stigmata are verified.

No. 17. St. Francis in Glory.

No. 18. St. Anthony of Padua.

No. 19. St. Louis the Archbishop. The crown he has refused lies at his feet.

No. 20. St. Catherine (probably of Siena). She wears a grey robe and black hood, and bears a lily.

No. 21. Sta. Rosa of Viterbo. She is crowned, and has a lap full of roses.

No. 22. S. Bernardino.

No. 23. Round the arch of the choir are painted Francis and his twelve disciples. There is no doubt an intention to honour the first disciples, and also a desire to remind worshippers of the conformity of the life of Francis with that of Christ. The author of the *Fioretti* says: "For since St. Francis, the true servant of Christ, was in certain things given to the world for the salvation of men, therefore God the Father made him conformed to, and like His Son in many acts."

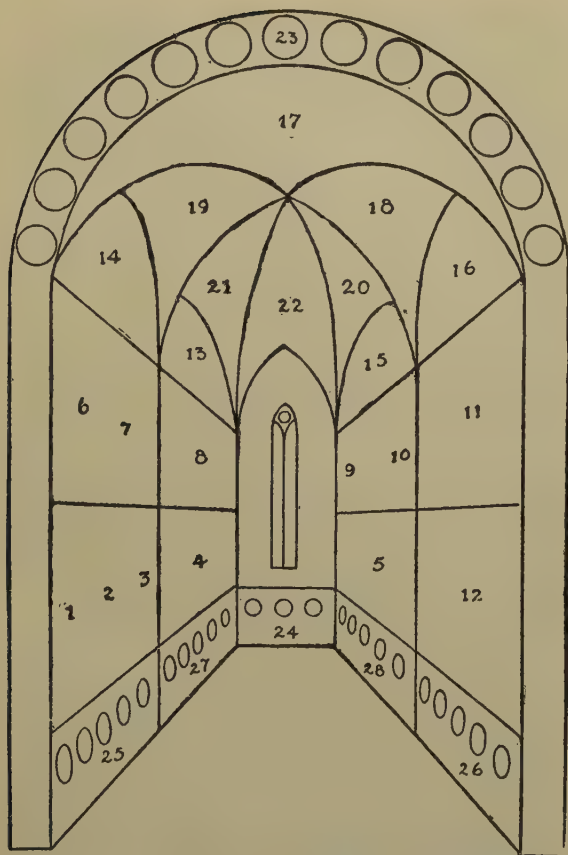
On the walls of the choir below the story of St. Francis, there is a series of pictures representing men held in honour by the brethren.

The central figure (No. 24) is Dante; to his right is Giotto and to his left Petrarch.

Nos. 25 and 26 contain figures of Popes, of the Emperor Constantine, King Robert of Naples, cardinals, and doctors.

Nos. 27 and 28 include figures of brethren and others, including John of Parma and Nicholas of Lira.

In the *chapel to the left* of the choir there are frescoes in the style of the Giotteschi,



Plan III. — Choir of S. Francesco, Montefalco

On the left is a Crucifixion; on the right, Descent into Hades and "Noli me tangere."

In the *chapel to the right* of the choir there is, to the left, a Crucifixion and St. Catherine of Alexandria, and on the right Madonna and Child and an Entombment.

In the northwestern corner of *the nave* there are frescoes, the principal one on the west wall being by Perugino.

1. In the lower part of the picture there is a Nativity, in which the Child, resting on the ground, is adored by Madonna, Joseph, and the shepherds. The pillars supporting the roof of the stable are of elaborate Renaissance design. There is a lovely landscape in the background. In the lunette above is the Father Eternal in a heavy almond-shaped glory with angels adoring.

2. Madonna and Child with a saint and a bishop.

3. St. Anthony of Padua drives out the devil from a man, and joins the leg of a man to the stump.

In the southwestern corner of the church is a fresco by Benozzo Gozzoli, dated 1452. In the centre is Madonna and Child. To the

left SS. Jerome and Anthony of Padua, to the right SS. John the Baptist and Louis. Above are medallions with the four Evangelists, and on the pinnacles are the four doctors of the Latin Church. Above the whole is a Crucifixion. At the sides of the main picture St. Jerome is seen with the cardinal's hat at his feet, and taking a thorn from the lion's foot.

On the underside of the arch of the nave opposite to this picture there are angels by Benozzo, which suggest the source of Bonfigli's inspiration.

The side chapels to the south of the nave have frescoes on the roof, beginning nearest the choir.

1. Christ and the four evangelists.
2. Scenes from the life of St. Anthony the Abbot.
3. Prophets, evangelists, and doctors.

In the sacristy there is the original standard carried before S. Bernardino; the monogram is in gold on a blue ground.

There is also a carved stone which was set up over the gates of Montefalco when the town was taken by the Emperor Frederick

II. in 1244. Various panels have been collected and hung in the church.

On the roof of the sacristy of the Church of S. Agostino, there are frescoes, probably of the fourteenth century. In the centre is Christ. In each vault is one of the four doctors, and at the angles there are Sta. Monica and St. Anthony, St. John the Baptist, and St. Paul the Hermit, St. Catherine of Alexandria and B. Augustus of Siena, St. Nicholas of Tolentino and B. Zonantias of Aurelia.

There are many examples of the work of a local artist named Melanzio to be found in Montefalco. He painted in the latter years of the fifteenth century. His pictures have only an interest as being the work of one who lived in this little hill village.

In the Church of S. Leonardo there is an elaborate picture attributed to Melanzio. Madonna and Child are attended by SS. Bonaventura, John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, and Sebastian. On a lower level are SS. Chiara and Elizabeth, SS. Anthony of Padua and Louis the Archbishop, with SS. Jerome and Francis.

The Church of S. Illuminato contains a number of frescoes in poor condition.

To the left — Madonna and Child with Saints; Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, and the Flight into Egypt; Madonna.

To the right — Martyrdom of St. Catherine, Assumption of the Virgin, Madonna and Child with Saints.

A short distance from the gate and near to the road leading to Spoleto is the Monastery and Church of S. Fortunato.

In the church there are some remains of pictures by Benozzo Gozzoli.

In the cloister there is the Chapel of the Rosary, painted by Tiberio d'Assisi.

1. St. Francis rolls among the thorns; an angel turns them into roses.

St. Francis (2) attended by angels, carries the roses, and lays them on the altar (3).

4. St. Francis gives the roses to the Pope.

5. Publication of the canonization of St. Francis (?).

Spello

Spello stands on the site of a Roman town of which there are many traces. The

main entrance is through a Roman gateway. The mediæval walls contain many fragments of ancient building, and considerable remains of an amphitheatre are seen not far from the gate on the road to Assisi.

The principal monument is the Duomo, standing in a small piazza to the right of the main street a few minutes' walk from the gate.

The western façade has a single doorway, with sculptured reliefs upon the jambs and lintels. On the jambs there is the familiar Romanesque design of a vine with animals, etc., among the branches. The lintel is composed of a number of fragments, including sculptures of a dog chasing a stag, an eagle devouring a hare, and two lions fighting.

Passing to the interior there is, *on the left side of the nave*, the Baglioni Chapel, in which Pinturicchio painted three large frescoes. On the left wall is the Annunciation, on the wall facing the visitor is the Nativity, and on the right wall Christ among the Doctors. The general design is striking and highly decorative.



A SIXTEENTH CENTURY CHURCH, SPELLO

1. The Annunciation. The angel is a remarkable presentment; the painter has had a genuine inspiration, and this piece of work would warrant us in placing Pinturicchio in a high position among contemporary Umbrian artists. Madonna is a simple figure disturbed in her reading by the appearance of the angel.

2. The Nativity includes an Adoration of the Shepherds; one brings an offering of eggs, and another a sheep. In the background the three kings arrive. The landscape is not designed with the fine insight of Perugino. Two angels kneel beside the infant, one of them bearing the figure of the cross.

3. Christ among the Doctors forms a striking picture. In the background is a temple, and from it there is a broad walk in the centre of which stands the Child. On each side are groups of Jews; some of them have thrown down their books in despair. On the roof of the chapel are painted four sibyls, those of Erythræa and Europa, and of Tivoli and Samos. These prophetesses each have their traditional mis-

sion, but the inscriptions are too much damaged to enable us to say what significance may have been attached to them here.

Two inferior pictures of the Umbrian school, a *Pieta* on the left and *Madonna and Child* to the right, are on the piers at the entrance of the choir. In the sacristy there is a small *Madonna and Child* attributed to Pinturicchio. Over the altar is a spacious ciborium of Renaissance design.

A little higher than the Duomo, in the main street of the town, is the Church of S. Andrea. In the southern transept there is a large altar-piece attributed to Pinturicchio.

A chapel near the western entrance is covered with frescoes in a poor state of preservation.

S. Girolamo is an interesting church outside the walls. The main street should be followed up to the gate at the high part of the town; from this point a pleasant walk among olive trees leads to the church. The view looking down over the vale of Spoleto is particularly fine. The loggia in front of

the church contains some frescoes showing incidents in the history of St. Francis.

1. The bishop covers Francis when he renounces his father.

2. Francis receives the stigmata.

3. The preaching of the indulgence.

Within the church, at the back of the high altar, there is an unpretending Umbrian picture representing the Sposalizio.

The pictures at S. Girolamo are of no great moment, but a couple of hours are well spent in a visit to this beautiful spot. A direct path leads under the shade of the olives to the entrance gate of the town.

CHAPTER V

FOLIGNO

THE Trinci family were rulers of Foligno from the beginning of the fourteenth century until the papal legate expelled the last of the family in 1439. In the contest between Gregory IX. and the Emperor Frederick II. the head of the house, Corrado Trinci, took the side of the Church, and the family were the chiefs of the Guelph party in the town. The Trinci ruled as "Gonfalonieri" or "Capitani," or as Vicars, but always by and with the goodwill of the Popes; and when Conrad, the ninth lord, quarrelled with Eugenius IV., he was expelled. In 1424 the chapel in the Trinci Palace, now the Palazzo del Governo, was painted by Ottaviano Nelli.

Frescoes in the Trinci Chapel.

PLAN IV (P. 311)

(1.) Joachim and Anna make their offerings in the Temple. (2.) An angel appears to Joachim in the desert and to Anna in the house, bidding them to meet each other at the Golden Gate in Jerusalem. (3.) The meeting of Joachim and Anna. (4.) The Nativity of the Virgin. (5.) The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple. (6.) The Sposalizio. (7.) The Annunciation. (8.) The Nativity of Christ. (9.) The Adoration of the Magi. (10.) The Apostles visit Madonna before they set out to preach. (11.) The Apostles are recalled miraculously to witness the death of the Virgin. (12.) Death of Madonna. Her soul is carried to heaven in the arms of Christ.

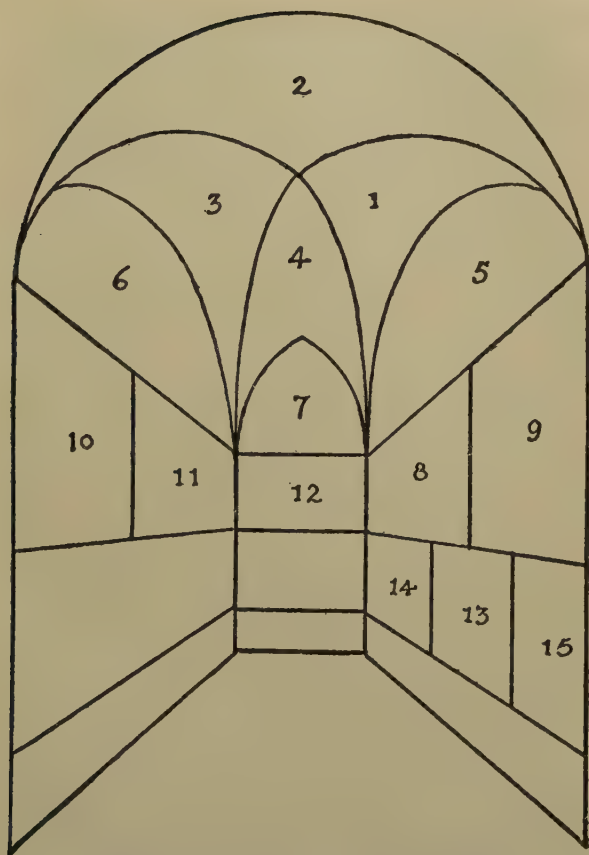
Frescoes not shown in the plan include the Presentation of the Child in the Temple and the Annunciation to Madonna of her approaching death by an angel. Apart from this series there is — (13.) The Crucifixion. (14.) SS. John the Baptist, Anthony, and Dominic. (15.) Francis receives the

stigmata. These frescoes have little except a certain effect of colour to recommend them. They show how entirely the painter remained outside the powerful influences that were moving contemporary artists in other parts of Italy.

In the desecrated Church of the Annunziata there is a Baptism by Perugino. It can only be seen under unfavourable conditions, and has been a good deal damaged. It is not a good example of the painter: the vapid sentiment which seems to have been his constant temptation has here completely mastered him. In the semi-dome the Father Eternal sits holding a globe. Below is the scene of the baptism. Besides the usual attendant angels there are a number of cherub heads and two angels in adoration in the air.

In the Church of S. Niccolo there are two paintings by Niccolo di Liberatore, known also as Niccolo da Foligno or Niccolo Alunno. This painter lived from 1430 to 1500. He was a pupil of Benozzo Gozzoli and a fellow-student with Bonfigli (1425-1496).

Niccolo paints as a man of eager tempera-



Plan IV.—Chapel of the Trinci, Foligno

ment and strong emotion. He does not reach any elevated range of thought or feeling, but his appeal is of a more fundamental kind than is usual among Umbrian masters of the fifteenth century. The altar-piece is an immense picture built up of many pieces, set in a gorgeous framing. The central scene is the Adoration of the Infant. The figure of the Virgin is natural and pleasing. In the middle distance the shepherds hurry along to join the group, and in the background are the three kings, riding through a formal landscape. Above this part of the picture Christ rises from the tomb. The witnesses of these mysteries are, *to the left*, SS. Sebastian and Nicholas, Sta. Chiara and St. John the Baptist, a Pope, and another saint. *To the right*, SS. Michael and John the Evangelist, St. Jerome, and perhaps St. Nicholas of Tolentino, and two others, probably bishops.

In the same church is another picture by Niccolo. In the upper part Christ crowns Madonna. They are surrounded by a formal and ungraceful glory of cherubs and child-angels. St. Anthony and S. Bernardino of

Siena look up in adoring wonder. In the background is an Umbrian landscape, more formal and less beautiful than those of Perugino.

In the Church of Sta. Maria Infra Portas there are remains of a number of frescoes, many of them attributed to Mezzastris. The general aspect of the church is pleasant and the porch is picturesque.

The doorway leading into the northern transept of the Duomo is of red marble, with lions at the foot of the jambs. Round the arch are sculptured the signs of the zodiac (not in their right order), and the four symbols of the evangelists. There is a crypt of unusual size under the nave.

The Benedictine Abbey of Sasso Vivo lies among the hills about one and a half hours from Foligno. The excursion is well worth the time involved. Inquiry should be made in Foligno about the key of the church. For about three-quarters of an hour it is possible to follow a rough road in a carriage. After that there is a good hill path, and in about forty minutes the monastery is reached. The lower slopes are covered with olives,

and as the path winds up the mountain side it is shaded in many places by fine oak trees. From the projecting spur upon which the abbey stands there is a magnificent view. The building is impressive. At one end rises the church, with a low campanile, and from it stretches a long and almost unbroken curtain of masonry, behind which lie the conventual buildings. The ground on three sides falls steeply to the torrent far below. The buildings are now used by a farmer, and within the gates there is a scene of miserable squalor. The church and cloister, however, remain unharmed, and it is the latter which forms the interest of the place. It causes a shock of surprise after climbing about the neglected and ruinous building used for the farm stock to enter suddenly into a small cloister perfect in every particular.

The refined beauty of the colonnade and the grace of the whole design at once remind the traveller of the cloister of St. John Lateran at Rome upon which it is modelled. The arches rest on pairs of small columns. The capitals are bell-shaped, and the lines

of the cornice are relieved by mosaics worked in the style of the Cosmati. The cornice, indeed, is a marvel of beauty. It is a series of simple mouldings and arcadings, executed in yellow sandstone, terra-cotta, and delicately tinted marble. The simplicity of design, the air of refinement and proportion, the beauty of colour, and the subtle sense of harmony, which is classical in the best sense of the word, make of this quiet cloister a most perfect and lovely picture. The cloister was constructed in the early part of the thirteenth century.

Trevi

Trevi, the ancient Trebia, was famed as the place which supplied the great beams for the roofs of the Roman basilicas. It is probable that the name contains an allusion to the wood (*trabes*), used for this purpose.

From the railway station it takes about three-quarters of an hour to drive up the steep hill to the town. The road passes the Church of Sta. Maria delle Lagrime. In the

left transept of this church is an Entombment by Lo Spagna. It is a mannered and poor piece of work. Its principal interest, indeed, is that we can gauge the difference between Perugino and his disciple by a comparison with the "Adoration of the Magi" painted on the other side of the church. Perugino painted this picture, it is said, when he was about seventy-five years old. It shows in a **most** striking way the unquestionable superiority of the master. It is just such a composition as he had often painted before; through the open stable we see a beautiful Umbrian landscape: horsemen move about, shepherds tend their sheep, and in the foreground Madonna with a grave face, broad and open, sits with the Child on her knee, while the king kneels and presents his gift.

The Duomo is dedicated in the name of S. Emiliano, the patron and bishop of the town, who was martyred under Diocletian. In the lunette above the door is the figure of the saint holding his pastoral staff. Two lions crouch at his feet in submission. In the interior there are three ornate altar-



VIEW OF TREVI

pieces by Rocco da Vicenza of the sixteenth century.

In the small Pinacoteca is a Coronation of the Virgin, attributed to Lo Spagna; a triptych of the fourteenth century in the style of the Florentine school, and several other unimportant pictures.

From the gate of the town nearest to Foligno a pretty road shaded with trees leads to the Convent of S. Martino.

Over the door of the church there is a picture of Madonna and Child with two adoring angels, by Tiberio d'Assisi.

Within the church and facing the visitor there is, to the right (by a painter of the school of Foligno), Madonna adoring the Child; St. Francis to the left, and St. Anthony of Padua to the right. To the left, by Lo Spagna, St. Martin divides his robe with the beggar. St. Martin has a trifling face; the beggar, on the other hand, has a truly professional air.

In a chapel to the left of the church, and separate from it, Lo Spagna has painted a large picture of the Assumption of the Virgin. The mandorla in which Madonna

is carried up is formed of cherub heads, mechanically treated and crudely coloured. To the left there are SS. John the Baptist and Jerome; to the right SS. Francis and Anthony of Padua, who carries a flame in his hand. The work is dated 1512.

CHAPTER VI

SPOLETO

Note Upon the History and Monuments

THE situation of Spoleto is one of great beauty. The ancient city stands upon a hill, with a background of higher peaks. It commands a wide view over the plain, with the distant towns of Trevi, Foligno, Spello, and Assisi forming white spots upon the blue hillsides to the right, and further still the outline of Perugia against the sky, to the left.

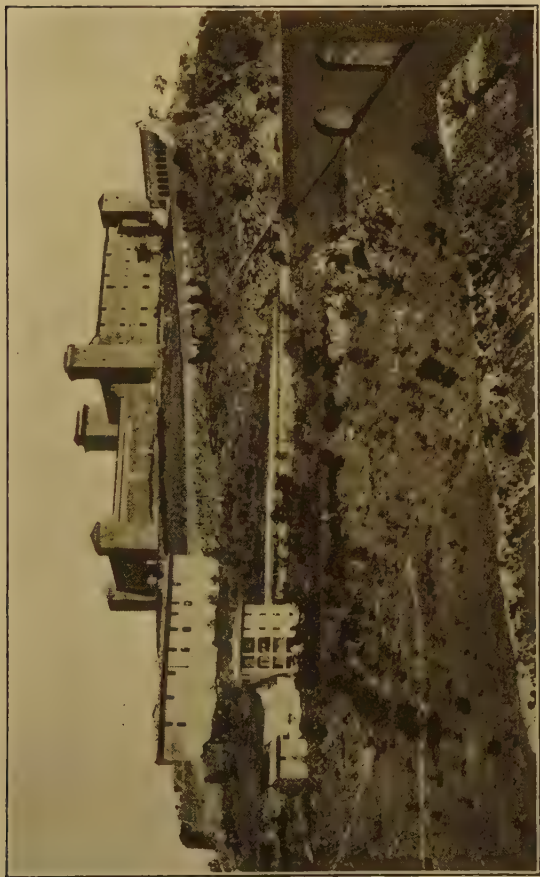
A magnificent gorge, formed by the river Tessino, divides the town from the steep sides of Monte Luco, which are covered with ilex trees.

The history of Spoleto is as varied and picturesque as her scenery. The part which she has played has been the result of her

geographical position in relation to Rome. In a commanding situation, close to the Flaminian Way, Spoleto has been the coveted possession both of the great Republic and of her enemies.

A Roman colony was planted here in 240 B. C., and gave valuable assistance about twenty years later, when Hannibal and his Carthaginian forces, having defeated the Romans at the Lake of Trasimeno, attacked Spoleto on his way to the south. The inhabitants drove him back from their gates, and, instead of continuing his route to Rome, he turned aside and went into the northern part of Apulia. A gateway of the Roman period, which may be passed on the way from the station by making a short detour on foot, is known as the Porta d'Annibale, or Porta della Fuga, and has a Latin inscription referring to the event.

There are several other remains of Roman times in the town. In the Via di Druso, a street opening out of the Piazza del Mercato, there is a plain, heavy arch, embedded for the most part in the roadway and adjoining houses. On it is a dedication to Germanicus



LA ROCCA

and Drusus, the son and the adopted son of Tiberius.

The Municipio stands on the remains of a Roman house, said to have been that in which the mother of Vespasian lived. Traces of a Roman theatre also have been discovered in the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele.

During the centuries of invasion, when Ostrogoths, Lombards, and Franks overran the country, Spoleto continued to be a place of importance. Its position was strengthened by the fortifications built by Theodoric the Goth.

La Rocca, the fortress, now used as a prison, is an imposing building rising above the town. The construction was rebuilt in the fourteenth century by Cardinal Albornoz.

During the Lombard occupation Spoleto became the seat of one of the duchies into which the conquered territory of Italy was divided. The dukes maintained an independent position, extending their domains by conquests, and making treaties on their own account with other Powers.

The long reign of Theudelap, from 601 to 653, greatly increased the strength and in-

dependence of the duchy. This duke is said to have been the builder of the Duomo, and of the magnificent aqueduct, now called the Ponte delle Torri, which not only brings water into the town from Monte Luco, but provides a footway across the ravine. The upper part of the present structure, with pointed arches, is work of the fourteenth century.

The Dukes of Spoleto were the builders and supporters of many abbeys and monasteries in the neighbourhood. The hill, Monte Luco, overlooking the city, became renowned also as a spiritual stronghold; for, in about the year 550, a Syrian pilgrim of the name of Isaac, fleeing from Rome, then in the hands of the barbarians, took refuge in Spoleto. It is said that one day he remained so long in prayer in the church that he was rudely turned out by one of the attendants. He then determined to seek God no longer in the midst of the haunts of men, but in solitude.

He established himself as a hermit among the ilex groves on the slopes of Monte Luco, and there passed a life of contemplation.

His example was followed by others. Monte Luco became another Thebaid, and the woods were crowded with little huts where the holy men spent their days in social solitariness.

A winding path through the wood leads up the slopes to a small Franciscan convent. The path lies mostly in shadow under the closely growing ilex trees, but ferns and flowers grow freely by the wayside, and every here and there between the branches there is a vision of the city and the plain below and of the surrounding hills. It would be difficult to find a more fit place for the pursuit of the contemplative life.

Under Frankish rule the territory was governed by a succession of dukes nominated by the emperor.

When the Karling Empire broke up at the end of the ninth century Duke Guido III., as a descendant of the imperial house, was raised to the throne. He reigned only for a few months and was succeeded by his son Lambert, who died while still a youth in 898.

In 1155 the city of Spoleto was devastated

by the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. The inhabitants had refused to pay the imperial tax laid upon them, and as a punishment the city was besieged by the emperor and laid waste with fire and sword. Many of the churches were barbarously destroyed, and the citizens who escaped hid themselves in the woods of Monte Luco.

In 1198 the March of Spoleto was conquered by Pope Innocent III., and the series of German feudal lords came to an end with Conrad of Swabia.

In the middle of the fourteenth century, when the legate Albornozy was engaged in re-establishing papal authority in Central Italy, he took possession of Spoleto, and judging its situation to be important for his purpose, he restored and strengthened the fortress.

From this time onwards La Rocca remained in the possession of the Popes. Calixtus III., in 1456, gave the city of Spoleto, with the title of duke, to his nephew Pier Luigi Borgia; and Alexander VI., in 1499, made his daughter, Lucrezia Borgia, governor of the town.

The new governor travelled from Rome with a sumptuous retinue. She rode into Spoleto clothed in red and gold, sitting on a white mule, and was welcomed with every sign of rejoicing by the inhabitants.

In 1798 Spoleto was occupied by the French Republican troops, and a picture by Lo Spagna which was in the fortress, and is now preserved in the Municipio, is said to have been wilfully damaged by a French soldier's bayonet.

The papal troops in 1860 made a long and gallant resistance in the town under the leadership of an Irishman, Major O'Reilly. On the 27th of September the city was taken by the Piedmontese soldiers.

The Duomo

The Cathedral of Sta. Maria Assunta is said to have been founded in the seventh century by the Lombard Duke, Theudelap. The church became the Duomo in 1067, and was much destroyed in 1155 when Barbarossa laid waste the city. The present construction dates from the twelfth century.

It is a fine and characteristic example of the Romanesque style.

The Renaissance portico covering the entrance was added in 1491. The façade therefore affords an interesting contrast between the characteristics of two styles of architecture — the Romanesque and the Renaissance.

The general effect of the building above the portico is picturesque and irregular. The mosaic, the circular windows, and the row of shallow arcades are the only features which break the spacious masses of wall. The warm tones of the masonry and the brilliant colours of the mosaic combine well together, and the impression given by the whole is imposing, picturesque, and somewhat barbarously magnificent.

On the other hand the Renaissance portico is severely elegant. Everything is uniform, regulated, and carefully proportioned. A delicate frieze of sculpture runs along the top of the round arches, and the spandrels are filled with marble disks of subdued colours. At each end of the portico is a small pulpit of great simplicity and beauty.



PORTICO OF DUOMO, SPOLETO

An inscription at the bottom of the mosaic gives the name of the artist, Doctor Solsernus, with the qualification "*summus in arte modernus*," and the date 1207, also the names of several assistants.

The work is Byzantine in character. The drapery is arranged in the conventional manner, and the folds are outlined with gold. But if we compare the head of Christ with the representation in the dome of the Florence baptistery, it will be seen that Solsernus had made considerable advance towards a style freer and less ascetic in character. The mosaic has been restored.

Christ is seated upon a throne, with the Virgin on the left and St. John the Evangelist on the right. On the book held by the central figure are the words, "I am the Light of the World."

The round window below the mosaic has the four symbols of the Evangelists carved in high relief at the four corners. The circle of the window stands for a figure of the globe of the world, throughout which the light of the gospel was carried by the Evangelists.

The reasons popularly given for the attribution of the signs to the Evangelists are as follows: —

St. Luke in his gospel dwells more than the other writers upon the priestly lineage of Christ, and he begins his narrative with the priesthood of Zachariah; therefore he is represented by the ox, the principal victim used in the sacrifices of the priests.

St. Matthew relates the generation of Christ as a man. His gospel relates to the humanity of the Saviour. He is therefore depicted with the face of a man.

St. Mark begins with the voice of one crying in the wilderness. Now the voice in the wilderness is that of a lion. Hence this animal is fitly chosen for his symbol.

St. John, more than the other writers, contemplates the Light Eternal, and is therefore figured by the eagle, which alone of all the birds can gaze at the sun.

The two human figures and the three pillars that support the circle of the window have no doubt some symbolical significance, and may be compared with the three similar

figures under the large window of the Duomo at Assisi.

Before entering the church some fragments of marble reliefs, built into the walls within the portico, should be noticed.

There are several panels of Romanesque workmanship, and high up on the side wall (to the left of the central door) are some graceful designs of Italo-Byzantine style. One fragment in delicate relief represents a stag on either side of a vase.

The lintel and jambs of the central door are covered with sculpture in relief. The name of the sculptor, Gregorius Melioranzius, is carved in the middle of the left jamb.

The design is graceful, and many of the figures are introduced very ingeniously into the circles formed by the branches, but the work does not show the same high qualities as the similar scroll round the doorway of S. Pietro.

Such designs as these are frequently found on the jambs and lintels of Romanesque doorways. The main theme is generally a conventionalized vine bearing grapes. Many figures of men and animals are

found among the branches, eating the leaves or gathering the fruit. The vine is the Church, which provides spiritual nourishment and safety for the healing of the nations.

The interior was restored in the seventeenth century, and the chief object of interest now is the series of frescoes by Filippo Lippi, the pupil of Lorenzo Monaco, and the follower of Masaccio.

This artist came to Spoleto towards the end of his life and painted a series of pictures of the history of the Virgin in the apsis. The work left unfinished by Fra Filippo, who died in Spoleto in 1469, was completed by Fra Diamante, one of his disciples. The paintings are worthy of careful study, for although they are grievously damaged, it is possible to appreciate in them the forces which were moving the Florentine artists of the fifteenth century.

The semi-dome is filled with the Coronation of the Virgin, and below are three scenes: the Annunciation (to the left), the Death of the Virgin (in the centre), and the Nativity (to the right).

The Annunciation. The Virgin has a keen, intelligent expression, and does not suggest an embodiment of meek devoutness. She looks down and twists her fingers together in perplexity. Rays from the Father Eternal fall upon her through the window. The figures of the angel and of Mary are not impressive presentments of the divine mystery in which they are concerned.

The Nativity. Little more than a shadow remains of a magnificent composition. There are no accessories introduced, and nothing to distract the mind from the central incident. The picture is a fine example of the subtle power of Fra Filippo.

The Death of the Virgin. The scene is laid on a platform of rocks. To the left is a steep hill with cornices running round it, like Dante's description of the mountain of Purgatory.

The figure of Christ in a "mandorla" carrying the soul of His mother is almost effaced. St. Thomas, kneeling as he receives the girdle, can just be distinguished.

The Coronation of the Virgin in the Semi-dome

Much of the landscape background has disappeared, and some of the colours have become very harsh.

Mary is crowned, not by the Son, but by the Father, who is seated upon a throne and wears a magnificent tiara. The figures are placed in an iris-coloured halo studded with stars. Above the rainbow is a great light representing the Sun of Righteousness, while the earthly sun and moon appear under the feet of the principal figures.

Round about is a company of angels, who sing, dance, and play upon musical instruments. Some hand flowers to the others.

Beneath the angels are the righteous men and women of the Old Testament.

Beginning on the right, the names of the women printed below them are as follows: Eve, the sibyl Tiburtina, Rachel, Bathsheba, Leah, the sibyl Erythræa, Esther, and one whose name is unrecognizable. The men are as follows (beginning in the centre): Adam, John the Baptist, Daniel, Elias (?), Micah, Hosea (?), Amos.

The scene is partly of historical and partly of a devotional character. It may be considered as the glorification of the Virgin, following her death and burial. With the introduction of the prophets and sibyls it becomes also a devotional picture, signifying the triumph of the spiritual Church typified by the Virgin. The kneeling witnesses who take part in the mystery are types afforded by the old dispensation significant of the future Church.

Adam and Eve, the origin of the human race, are those by whom death and sin entered into the world, thus necessitating the Incarnation. The Virgin is often regarded as the second Eve, bringing life to the world, through obedience, as the first Eve brought death through disobedience.

Bathsheba is a type of Mary, because she sat upon a throne on the right hand of her son. Esther, who interceded for her people before the king, is a figure of the Virgin herself — the intercessor for the faithful.

The sibyl Erythræa generally holds a white rose, having predicted the Annunciation. The sibyl Tiburtina pointed out the

vision of the Virgin and Child to the Emperor Augustus, warning him that a Hebrew child should be born who should rule over the gods themselves.

At the entrance to the chapel (*left of the choir*) is the grave of the artist Filippo Lippi, who died in 1469. The tomb was erected by Lorenzo de' Medici, and the inscription by Politian may be roughly translated: "Here now, I, Philipus, lie buried, the ornament of painting, the charm of whose wonderful hand every one knew. I, the painter, could with my hand give life to the colours, so that the beholder thinks that he hears them speak. Nature even is astonished, and copies my figures; and she confesses to me that I, as she, have power to create."

On the floor, opposite, is a fine sepulchral stone to a member of the Orsini family, dated 1581.

In the winter choir is a picture by Lo Spagna (painting 1500-1528, a pupil of Perugino, and influenced by Raphael). The subject is the Madonna and Child, with Saints.



A BAPTISMAL FONT OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

In the first chapel to the right are some much damaged frescoes by Pinturicchio.

The Baptistry

The baptistry is a small building, square in plan, entered from the porch of the church.

In early times separate buildings were raised for the administration of baptism, which only took place twice in the year. It was convenient, also, to have a separate building, as unbaptized persons were not permitted to be present at the celebration of the mysteries.

The roof and walls are covered with frescoes, which are of no value as works of art, but are worth notice on account of the scheme of ideas represented.

In the vault facing the door is Adam, holding an apple, significant of the fall into sin. Two small scenes at the sides represent the creation of the body and soul of Adam.

In the vault to the left, man makes his first step to recovery under the old law administered by the high priest. The

small pictures represent the Burning Bush and the Salvation of the Israelites at the Red Sea.

The vault opposite is that of the new law. The small pictures represent the release of the Israelites by the Egyptians, and the sacrifice of Isaac, typical of escape from the bondage of the old law, and of the sacrifice that was to make all men free. In the centre a figure stands at the altar, on which is bread and wine, the source of strength to believers, and the reward of faith.

The vault over the entrance door shows a man clinging to the vine of the Lord; the safety which he finds in it is typified in the two small pictures of Noah and his family entering the Ark, and the Ark floating on the waters. Below is the Ascension of Elijah, pointing to the ultimate hope of mankind.

On the wall opposite the entrance is a large Crucifixion, with the Madonna and the twelve Apostles. The death on the cross recalls the saying of St. Paul, that as we are buried with Christ through baptism,

like Him we shall be raised up from the dead and walk in the newness of life.

The font has sculptured upon it the Nativity, the Presentation, the Adoration, the Circumcision, the Flight into Egypt, Christ among the Doctors, the Baptism, and the Miracle at Cana.

The Church of S. Pietro

This ancient church outside of the city is one of the most striking of the Romanesque buildings in Italy.

It has a magnificent situation on the slope of the hill, with a little piazza in front, which is reached by a long flight of steps. Behind rise the wooded heights of Monte Luco, and in front is a wide view over the city and the plain to the hills in the background. The church was originally founded in the fifth century, and served as the cathedral of Spoleto until 1067. When the town was attacked and burned by Frederick Barbarossa in the middle of the twelfth century, this isolated building was greatly damaged.

The style and date of the sculpture. The earliest work of all upon the church is an archaic relief of St. Michael killing the dragon, above *the side door to the left*. Some fragments above the door of entrance to the house of the Priore (*on the right*) are apparently works of the same date.

Round the central door there are two systems of sculpture. One series, connected with the jambs and lintel, is distinguished by unusual grace and refinement. The treatment and detail suggest Byzantine influence.

To right and left of this highly finished sculpture there is another series totally different in character. The style and the material are both rude, in comparison. This work is characterized by vigour and simplicity. It is the sculpture of men who have much to say with little technical power of expression.

The Subject of the Reliefs

There is no connected or elaborate system of ideas expressed by the reliefs on the façade as a whole.

The general theme is the way of the soul through the dangers and temptations of this life, and the assistance which the penitent may obtain from St. Peter in order to escape from eternal punishment, and attain to everlasting blessedness.

We begin with the reliefs *round the central door*. On the jambs and lintel is a conventionalized vine. This vine has the cross placed among its branches, and is a symbol of the Church of Christ upon earth.

The figures of animals which divide the geometrical designs are identical in subject upon the two sides.

In the lowest panels is a pair of oxen wearing the yoke, followed by a man.

This is the Romanesque artist's way of showing us how man began his spiritual career under the yoke of the law. It is the yoke from which the gospel made man free.

In the centre is a stag killing a serpent, significant of the baptized Christian overcoming the vices which attack him. When the law had done its work, man entered upon a positive state, and, with the help

of grace, struggled with the sins which beset him.

At the top is a peacock eating grapes, a figure of the soul which has attained to the blessedness of everlasting life.

The panels thus represent the three periods into which the life of the human race may be divided: (1) The reign of law, when man lived in servile obedience; (2) the reign of grace, when man lives in filial obedience in faith; (3) the reign of love, when man lives in the freedom of the spirit.

The stag is a Biblical figure for the Christian thirsting for grace (Psalm xlii.), and, according to the natural historians of the time, the stag was the great enemy of serpents.

The peacock was used as an emblem of immortality on account of the beauty of its feathers renewed every year, and because of the supposed incorruptibility of its flesh.

Turning now to *the panels in high relief* on the walls at each side, the subjects illustrated are the temptations and sins which beset the pilgrim on his way through life,

and the power of St. Peter in absolving the penitent and securing his soul from hell.

We begin with the *top panel on the right*. Nearest to the central door Christ prepares to wash the feet of St. Peter, who protests, drawing his feet under him. Then the disciple, made conscious of his error, lays his hand upon his head, saying, "Not my feet only."

The panel below this represents the calling of Peter and Andrew. The incident is told with the utmost simplicity and directness.

The two corresponding panels at the top, on the opposite side of the door, illustrate the office of St. Peter under the dramatic form of a contrast drawn between the death of the penitent and the death of the sinner.

In the highest panel, the penitent lies peacefully upon his bed. At his head stands St. Peter with the key of absolution, and holding a rope which he has loosed from off the penitent. The rope signifies the bondage of sin. At the foot of the bed the soul of the dead man is weighed in the balance. On one side is the guardian angel with a scroll inscribed with his good deeds, and on the

other side is a devil who tries to pull the scale to his side. He has a scroll upon which are the words, "*Doleo quia non est meus*" (I grieve because he is not mine). Behind the devil, another image of St. Peter presides over the judgment; he is seated upon a throne and holds a key.

In the scene below is the deathbed of the sinner, whose arms are bound with the bonds of unabsolved sins. At the foot of the bed the balance falls to the side of the devils, who seize their prey. To the right the guardian angel flees away with an eloquent gesture; to the left the mouth of hell is represented as a pot into which the condemned are thrown head foremost.

In the six lower panels (three on each side), the dangers of pride, and the nature of the cunning snares laid by the devil to deceive man, are shown by means of allegories and fables. These sculptures belong to the class of moral examples used by the popular preachers in their sermons. On the left are three examples drawn from the history of the lion, inculcating the merits of humility and the dangers of pride.

The highest of the three represents a man armed with an axe about to slay a lion, whose forepaws are caught in the cleft of a tree-trunk. The writers do not know of any other representation of this incident in sculpture, nor have they found it used as an "exemplum" in the popular collections. Like the other panels, it may be a warning against presumption, as the overconfident lion, trusting in his strength, falls a victim to the superior cunning of the man. The scenes below illustrate how the clement lion spares the humble suppliant who begs for mercy, while he shows himself without pity for the man who comes before him boldly, trusting in his own strength and in his weapons.

The lion in this character was held to be an image of the Church, merciful to the penitent, but without pity for the proud and heretical.

The panels on the other side, *to the right*, illustrate the cunning snares laid for man by his arch-enemy the devil.

In the third scene from the top (under the Calling of Peter and Andrew), is the story

of how the fox secures his prey by shamming death.

The fox lies on his back, apparently dead, but the sculptor has given an expression of sly cunning to the animal's open mouth and watchful eye. The birds stand on little mounds, and stretch out their foolish necks towards their foe, whose feet are already drawn up ready to spring. The moral drawn by the *Bestiaries* is that when the devil has lured people into sin, he springs up like the fox, and thrusts them into hell.

Below this, the hypocritical character of the great deceiver is illustrated by the story of the wolf-scholar. The wolf, anxious for an opportunity to capture a sheep, feigns penitence and conversion. He has put on the scholar's hood, and holds his lesson-book; but, according to the fable, he had only reached the letter D of the alphabet when he made off with one of his fellow-students. Finally, in the lowest panel, we see the triumph of good over evil. The dragon, typical of deceit and craftiness, is met and routed by the vigilant Christian,



LO SPAGNA. — MADONNA AND CHILD

made as strong and courageous as a lion with the help of Grace.

In the Palazzo Pubblico there are several ancient inscriptions, fragments of sculpture, and a small pinacoteca.

The collection in the pinacoteca is not well arranged, and at present the pictures cannot be seen to advantage. Room III. has a detached fresco from La Rocca, by Lo Spagna, which gives a favourable idea of the ability of the artist. The picture was damaged by the French soldiers in 1799. In the centre, Madonna and Child; on the left, St. Anthony of Padua and St. Jerome; on the right, St. Catherine of Alexandria and S. Brizio. This is a quiet and unaffected picture of pleasing colour. Another fresco, in Room IV., dated 1530, represents Madonna and Child with angels above in adoration. To the left is a bishop, perhaps S. Biagio, and the right, S. Lorenzo. There are also a number of detached frescoes from the Church of S. Niccolo in Spoleto. They are not of much importance, and have been badly damaged. In a lunette there is the Death of the Virgin, and two panels repre-

senting the Annunciation. A large panel with a figure of the Virgin is signed Bernardino Campilio (a native of Spoleto), and is dated 1502. Another picture of the Madonna is signed by Antonello da Messina.

There are also remains of various altarpieces, and some choral books.

On the wall of the staircase are interesting fragments of sculpture.

(1.) A tympanum from S. Niccolo, with the cross entwined among vine branches.

(2.) A series of small sculptures representing the martyrdom of S. Brizio, the first Bishop of Spoleto, and called the Apostle of Umbria.

In the first scene, (*a*) the king sitting on his throne, condemns the bishop.

(*b*) The bishop is bound to a cross, and delivered by an angel.

(*c*) The bishop is given to wild beasts, and they make obeisance before him.

(*d*) The bishop is beheaded.

(*e*) Christ appears in blessing.

On the same wall there are several tabernacles of Renaissance design, and fragments

of Byzantine sculpture representing birds feeding upon grapes.

A mosaic pavement of the Roman period was discovered below the site of the municipal buildings, and it is said that the Roman house, of which it formed a part, belonged to the mother of Vespasian.

Other Churches in Spoleto

Near to the Piazza del Mercato is the subterranean Church of S. Ansano. This small building, dedicated in the name of S. Ansano, the martyr and patron of Assisi and Siena, is said to have been originally dedicated to St. Isaac, the hermit of Monte Luco. The roof rests upon four columns, and on the walls are damaged frescoes probably of the eleventh century. In the apse is the Virgin and Child, with the Sacrifice of Isaac below. On the wall, to the left of the entrance, are two frescoes, one a scene of Martyrdom, the other Christ's meal with the disciples. The pieces of bread are marked with a cross, as is the custom in the paintings of the catacombs.

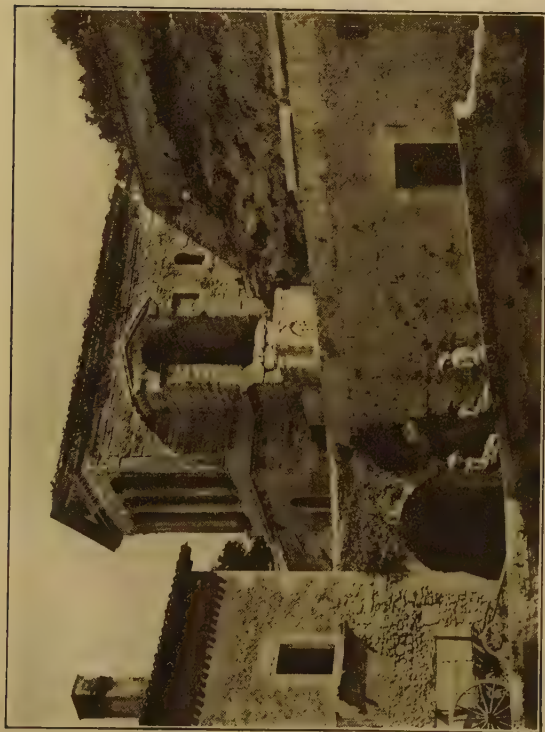
The Church of S. Agostino del Crocefisso,

formerly S. Salvatore, is some distance without the gates, in the modern Campo Santo. It is said to have been built upon the site of a Roman temple, in the fifth or sixth century.

There are the remains of three Roman doorways, and the architectural features of the façade are thoroughly classical in style. The sculptured leaves and crosses upon the lintels and the mouldings of the windows and doors are extremely delicate and beautiful. In the interior there are a number of ancient columns of different lengths of various materials and of all styles. In some cases the base of the classical pillars has been used as a capital. The effect of the interior on the whole is extremely picturesque. The pillars of the crossing support an entablature of classical design.

On the hills above S. Pietro is the small Romanesque Church of S. Giuliano, now desecrated. The entrance door has sculptures on the jamb of a symbolical character.

Animals such as the stag, the lamb, and the hare feed upon the leaves of the vine. Peacocks and other birds eat the grapes.



CHURCH OF S. SALVADOR

The sign of the cross appears among the branches, and the whole design is a figure of the Church with its sacraments.

In the interior, the semi-dome and apse are painted with mediocre frescoes of the fourteenth century. The crypt is sustained by pillars, some of which have the symbol of the lamb in an aureole.

The Church of S. Giacomo

About four miles from Spoleto, on the road to Trevi, is the Church of S. Giacomo, with frescoes by Lo Spagna.

In the semi-dome of the choir, in the upper part, is the Coronation of the Virgin, based on the design of Fra Filippo Lippi in the Duomo at Spoleto. Madonna wears a white and golden robe as at Spoleto. There are the same ranks of men and women of the old dispensation; but the faces are commonplace and heavy, and the complexions are heightened by obvious patches of red. On the wall over the semi-dome there is, on one side, the angel Gabriel, and on the other the Virgin. Over the niche *to the left*, Ma-

donna sits with the Child, attended by angels; over the niche *to the right*, she rises up to heaven. The whole is a short history of the place of Madonna in the scheme of human salvation. In the lower part of the semi-dome is a large figure of St. James the Great. At each side is the history of a miracle worked by him. A man and his wife and their son were on pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James at Compostella, when the son was wrongfully accused of theft by an innkeeper. The young man was condemned and hanged. The parents fulfilled their vows and visited the shrine. On their return to the place where their son had suffered, they found the youth still alive, for St. James had supported him, as we see in the fresco to the left. The judge refused to believe in the miracle, declaring that the roasted fowls before him were as much alive as the young man. Whereupon the birds immediately rose up in the dish. This scene is on the right of the figure of St. James. In the niche to the left are SS. Fabiano, Sebastiano, and Rocco. In the niche to the right are SS. Peter, Anthony the Abbot, and

St. Bartholomew. The pillars which separate the apsis from the niches have the figures of St. Lucy (left), and Sta. Apollonia. The conjunction of St. Sebastian and S. Rocco point to the probability that the picture may have been connected with some visitation of plague.

The whole series of paintings are heavy and uninspired. So far as the mere outline of the design of the coronation, there is an evident intention to found upon the fresco of Fra Filippo Lippi; but both the power and the imagination of the Florentine are lacking. The common, unrefined, and weak forms can have no place beside the vigorous work in the Duomo of Spoleto. (For an opinion opposed to this see "Renaissance in Italian Art," part iii. p. 131, by Mr. Selwyn Brinton.)

THE END.

Appendices

I

COPIES OF UMBRIAN FRESCOS IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON

In the basement of the National Gallery, London, there are a number of copies of frescoes which were made for the Arundel Society, with some of the reproductions from them. Representations of the following pictures may be seen: —

From Perugia — The Transfiguration from the Sala del Cambio.

From Assisi — Many of the Old Testament scenes and New Testament scenes from the nave of the upper church of S. Francesco. Many of the scenes from the life of St. Francis in the nave of the upper church.

From the Lower Church of S. Francesco — Frescoes from the northern and southern transepts; from the Chapel of the Magdalene, and from the Chapel of St. Martin.

From the Cappella della Madonna di S. Brizio, in the Duomo of Orvieto — The large fresco showing the saints crowned in Paradise.

From Panicale — The fresco of St. Sebastian.

From Montefalco — Several scenes from the life of St. Francis, and a large altarpiece by Benozzo Gozzoli.

From Spello — The Sposalizio in S. Girolamo.

In the South Kensington Museum there is a model of the Sala del Càmbio at Perugia.

II

UMBRIAN MONUMENTS

The most important monuments in the district with which this book deals may be epitomized as follows: —

Etruscan life underlying the civilization of the country may be studied in the tombs near Perugia, around Orvieto, and in the neighbourhood of Chiusi. The museums in the same towns have valuable collections illustrating Etruscan life and civilization in a variety of ways.

The remains of Roman life exist in many directions, the most important being those of the Arco di Agosto in Perugia, the Temple of Minerva in Assisi, the Roman Arches in Spoleto, and the remains in and around Spello.

The Romanesque populations have left memories on the Rocca of Spoleto, in the Duomo and the Church of S. Pietro in the same town, in the Duomo at Assisi, and at S. Costanzo near Perugia.

Of the Gothic style there are two of the best examples in Italy, viz., the Church of S. Francesco at Assisi and the Duomo at Orvieto.

Some of the finest Pisan and Florentine sculpture of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries may be

studied on the fountain at Perugia, in the monument of Pope Benedict XI. in S. Domenico at Perugia, and on the pillars between the doors of the Duomo at Orvieto.

The application of mosaic to the purposes of an entire façade can be seen nowhere so fully carried out as at Orvieto.

The history of the development of Italian painting is to be found on the walls of S. Francesco at Assisi, and in this respect no single monument can compare in importance with it.

The art of the Umbrian school as it developed in the fifteenth century is exemplified in the Sala del Cambio at Perugia, and in the frescoes at Città della Pieve, Panicale, Foligno, Trevi, and Spello. The rise and fall of the Umbrian school may be most conveniently studied in the gallery at Perugia.

The art of the fifteenth century apart from the Umbrian school has one of its most magnificent developments in the Signorelli frescoes in the Chapel of Madonna di S. Brizio at Orvieto.

The use of painting and sculpture to set forth schemes of theology and philosophy was common in Italian art. Examples occur in S. Francesco at Assisi, on the fountain and in the Sala del Cambio in Perugia, at S. Pietro in Spoleto, and in the sculpture, the painting, and the mosaic on the Duomo at Orvieto.

III

BOOKS USEFUL TO TRAVELLERS IN CENTRAL ITALY

“Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects,” by Giorgio Vasari. The best edition

is that of Sansoni, with notes by Milanese, in 9 vols. A selection of seventy of the most important lives has been translated, with notes by G. H. and G. W. Blashfield and A. A. Hopkins, 4 vols.

"Sketches of the History of Christian Art," by Lord Lindsay, 2 vols.

"A New History of Painting in Italy," by J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle, 3 vols.

"Tuscan Sculptors," by Charles C. Perkins, 2 vols.

"Italian Sculptors," by Charles C. Perkins, 1 vol.

"Handbook of Painting." The Italian schools based on the handbook of Kugler, revised and in part rewritten by Sir A. H. Layard, 2 vols.

"Renaissance in Italy," by J. A. Symonds, 7 vols.

"The Fine Arts," in vol. iii. of the series.

"History of Painting," Woltman and Woerman, 2 vols.

"Florentine Painters of the Renaissance," by Bernhard Berenson, 1 vol.

"The Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance," by Bernhard Berenson, 1 vol.

"Perugino," by G. C. Williamson, Litt. D.

"Signorelli," by Maud Crutwell.

"The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria," by George Dennis, 2 vols.

L'Art Etrusque, Jules Martha.

Vita di S. Francesco d'Assisi, scritta da S. Bonaventura; edited by Mons. Amoni.

"The Mirror of Perfection," edited by Paul Sabatier, translated by Sebastian Evans.

"The Little Flowers of St. Francis," translated by T. W. Arnold.

Vie de S. François d'Assisi, by Paul Sabatier.

Franz von Assisi, by Henry Thode.

"The Inferno" of Dante, translated by Dr. Carlisle; edited by H. Oelsner, M. A., Ph. D. "The Purgatory" of Dante, edited, with translation and notes, by A. J. Butler. "The Paradise" of Dante, translated by the Rev. P. H. Wicksteed, M. A.

De Monarchia of Dante, translated by the Rev. P. H. Wicksteed, M. A.

"The Banquet" (*Il Convito*) of Dante, translated by Katharine Hillard.

The "Golden Legend; or, Lives of the Saints," 7 vols., translated by W. Caxton; edited by F. S. Ellis.

"Sacred and Legendary Art," by Mrs. Jameson, 2 vols.

"Legends of the Monastic Orders," by Mrs. Jameson, 1 vol.

"Legends of the Madonna," by Mrs. Jameson, 1 vol.

"History of Our Lord," by Mrs. Jameson and Lady Eastlake, 2 vols.

IV

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL ARTISTS CONNECTED WITH UMBRIA

Aliense	pupil of Tintoretto	
Alfani, Domenico di Paris		1483-1536
Alfani, Orazio		1510-1583
Andrea Pisano		died after 1349
Angelico, Fra		1387-1455
Arnolfo di Cambio		1232-1315?
Baccio d'Agnolo	Stalls, S. Agostino, Perugia	1462-1543
Baroccio		1528-1612

Bernardino di Mariotto

working between 1502-1521

Berto di Giovanni . living between 1497-1523

Boccati, Giovanni . working 1435?-1460?

Bonfigli, Benedetto 1425-1496

Botticelli 1446-7-1510

Campello, Fra Filippo di

Architect Sta. Chiara, Assisi 1232?-1253?

Caporali, Bartolommeo

working between 1442-1499

Caporali, Giov. Batista 1476-1560?

Cavallini, Pietro died 1364

Cimabue 1240?-1302?

Danti, Vincenzo 1530-1576

Doni, Adone 1540-1583?

Duccio, Agostino 1418-1481

Eusebio di San Giorgio . working 1492-1527

Fiorenzo di Lorenzo 1440-45-1521-22

Gentile da Fabriano 1360-70-1427-28

Giotto 1276-1337

Giotto last record of 1369

Giovanni da Bologna 1524-1608

Giovanni Pisano died 1320

Giunta da Pisa . 13th century

Gozzoli, Benozzo 1420-1498

Guida da Siena . 13th century

Ibi, Sinibaldo . . working in 1528

Jacopo, Tedesco . Architect of S.

Francesco, Assisi

Lippi, Fra Filippo 1406-1469

Lorenzetti, Ambrogio died 1348

Lorenzetti, Pietro died 1348

Lorenzo di S. Severino the elder,

working 1400-1416

Lorenzo di S. Severino the younger,	
working up to	1496
Luca della Robbia	1400-1482
Maitani, Lorenzo	1275?-1330
Manni, Giannicola	died 1544
Margaritone	1236-1313?
Martini, Simone	1285?-1344
Masolino	1383?-1440?
Matteo da Gualdo	working 1468-1503?
Melanzio	latter part of 15th century?
Melozzo da Forli	1438-1494
Melioranzius, Gregorius	
Duomo, Spoleto	?
Memmi Lippo	work dated 1317
Mezzastris (Pier Antonio da Foligno)	
working	1468
Mino da Fiesole	1431-1484
Mosca, Francesco	sculptor, Orvieto
Mosca, Simone	sculptor 1492-1553
Nelli, Ottaviano	died 1444
Niccolo da Foligno	1430-1500?
Niccolo Pisano	1206?-1280?
Nuzzi, Allegretto	died 1365
Oderisio da Gubbio	died 1299
Orcagna, Andrea	1308?-1368
Palmerucci, Guido	1280-1345
Perugino	1446-1524
Piero della Francesca	1415?-1492
Pietro di Puccio	working 1370-1391
Pinturicchio	1454-1513
Pisano, Andrea	died after 1349
Pisano, Giovanni	died 1320
Pisano, Niccolo	1206?-1280?
Pollaiuolo, Antonio	1429-1498

Raphael	1483-1520
Reni, Guido	1574-1642
Salsernus Mosaic, Duomo,	
Spoleto	1207
Sano di Matteo working	1407
Santi, Giovanni	1430-40-1494
Sassoferrato	1605-1685
Scalza, Ippolito working	1579
Sebastiano del Piombo	1485-1547
Signorelli, Luca	1441-1523
Spagno, Lo working	1503?-1530?
Stefano di Bergamo. Stalls, S. Pietro,	
Perugia	1535
Taddeo di Bartolo	1363-1422
Tiberio d'Assisi working	1512-1518
Uccello, Paolo	1397-1475
Ugolino di Prete Ilario working	1364-1378
Ugolino di Maestro Vieri working	1337
Vasari, Giorgio	1512-1574
Verrocchio, Andrea	1435-1488
Viti, Timoteo	1467-1523

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